

Message

From: Ferguson, Lincoln [ferguson.lincoln@epa.gov]
Sent: 4/19/2017 5:10:16 PM
To: Freire, JP [Freire.JP@epa.gov]
CC: Konkus, John [konkus.john@epa.gov]; Bowman, Liz [Bowman.Liz@epa.gov]; Graham, Amy [graham.amy@epa.gov]; Wilcox, Jahan [wilcox.jahan@epa.gov]
Subject: Re: WSJ

I don't think this is one he'd want framed. If looking for one to put in his office I'd go with the "back to basics" editorial

Sent from my iPhone

On Apr 19, 2017, at 9:37 AM, Freire, JP <Freire.JP@epa.gov> wrote:

My only nitpick is that I know he isn't really advocating for withdrawal publically but it's easy to mistake his deepseated reservations for advocacy of withdrawal. Kind of a pain for our friends at WH who are trying to navigate this carefully.

From: Konkus, John
Sent: Wednesday, April 19, 2017 9:48 AM
To: Bowman, Liz <Bowman.Liz@epa.gov>; Ferguson, Lincoln <ferguson.lincoln@epa.gov>; Freire, JP <Freire.JP@epa.gov>; Graham, Amy <graham.amy@epa.gov>; Wilcox, Jahan <wilcox.jahan@epa.gov>
Subject: RE: WSJ

Absolutely!

From: Bowman, Liz
Sent: Wednesday, April 19, 2017 9:48 AM
To: Ferguson, Lincoln <ferguson.lincoln@epa.gov>; Freire, JP <Freire.JP@epa.gov>; Konkus, John <konkus.john@epa.gov>; Graham, Amy <graham.amy@epa.gov>; Wilcox, Jahan <wilcox.jahan@epa.gov>
Subject: RE: WSJ

We should get Ron to frame this for SP – instead of the NYT thing sitting on my desk?

From: Ferguson, Lincoln
Sent: Wednesday, April 19, 2017 9:17 AM
To: Freire, JP <Freire.JP@epa.gov>; Bowman, Liz <Bowman.Liz@epa.gov>; Konkus, John <konkus.john@epa.gov>; Graham, Amy <graham.amy@epa.gov>; Wilcox, Jahan <wilcox.jahan@epa.gov>
Subject: WSJ

<https://www.wsj.com/articles/highway-from-the-endangerment-zone-1492555808>

Scott Pruitt has emerged as a leading voice in the Trump Administration for U.S. withdrawal from the Paris global climate deal, so it's ironic that the Environmental Protection Agency chief

is being assailed from the right for being soft on carbon. Too many conservatives these days are searching for betrayals where none exist.

As Attorney General of Oklahoma, Mr. Pruitt successfully sued to stop the enforcement of President Obama's regulations known as the Clean Power Plan, or CPP, and he's preparing to dismantle them for good as EPA administrator. The rap from the right is that he won't challenge the underlying determination for regulating CO 2 emissions known as an endangerment finding. In 2009 the EPA concluded in this finding that carbon dioxide and other greenhouse gases pose a threat to public health and the environment, and this document serves as the nominal legal basis for the CPP and other anticarbon rules.



[]U.S. Environmental Protection Agency Administrator Scott Pruitt speaks with coal miners at the Harvey Mine in Sycamore, Pa., April 13. PHOTO: GETTY IMAGES

April 18, 2017 6:50 p.m. ET

156 COMMENTS

Scott Pruitt has emerged as a leading voice in the Trump Administration for U.S. withdrawal from the Paris global climate deal, so it's ironic that the Environmental Protection Agency chief is being assailed from the right for being soft on carbon. Too many conservatives these days are searching for betrayals where none exist.

As Attorney General of Oklahoma, Mr. Pruitt successfully sued to stop the enforcement of President Obama's regulations known as the Clean Power Plan, or CPP, and he's preparing to dismantle them for good as EPA administrator. The rap from the right is that he won't challenge the underlying determination for regulating CO 2 emissions known as an endangerment finding. In 2009 the EPA concluded in this finding that carbon dioxide and other greenhouse gases pose a threat to public health and the environment, and this document serves as the nominal legal basis for the CPP and other anticarbon rules.

Mr. Pruitt's critics claim that withdrawing from the CPP without reversing endangerment will strengthen his opponents in the inevitable green lawsuits that are coming. Endangerment findings create a legal obligation for the EPA to regulate the relevant pollutants, even if carbon is far different from traditional hazards like SO Xand NO X .

The endangerment finding was deeply misguided and flawed in its execution, and nobody fought it more than we did. But there's a practical reason that Mr. Pruitt is right about the risks of trying to revoke it now. The finding has been upheld by the courts, and creating a legally bulletproof non-endangerment rule would consume a tremendous amount of EPA resources, especially at an agency with few political appointees and a career staff hostile to reform.

Technical determinations about the state of the science are supposed to be entitled to judicial deference, but the reality is that the D.C. Circuit Court of Appeals that would hear the case is packed with progressive judges. Climate change has become a theological conviction on the left, so Mr. Pruitt would almost certainly lose either with a three-judge panel or en banc.

The Supreme Court's appetite for such a case is also minimal, since it would run directly at the 2007 ruling in *Massachusetts v. EPA* that prepared the way for the endangerment finding. Justice Anthony Kennedy was in that 5-4 majority.

Mr. Pruitt is already taking on difficult and controversial challenges, so better for the Administration to use scarce political capital where it will make a difference instead of burning it on a doomed mission. The endangerment finding doesn't dictate any specific regulation, and Mr. Pruitt has the discretion to interpret the Clean Air Act to achieve his favored policy outcomes, including to repeal legally tenuous central planning like CPP.

A future Democratic President could use the endangerment finding to revive something like CPP, but then that same Administration could restore endangerment too. Mr. Pruitt is a natural target for the left, but when conservatives are impugning one of the leaders of President Trump's economic deregulation project as a sellout, maybe the problem is the critics, not Mr. Pruitt.

Sent from my iPhone

Message

From: Gunasekara, Mandy [Gunasekara.Mandy@epa.gov]
Sent: 4/27/2017 2:42:59 PM
To: Dravis, Samantha [dravis.samantha@epa.gov]; Bowman, Liz [Bowman.Liz@epa.gov]; Bolen, Brittany [bolen.brittany@epa.gov]
Subject: RE: E&E News: Today could expose strengths, and weaknesses, in Cabinet, 4/27/17
Attachments: Paris Agreement EPA.pdf; Additional Points on Paris.docx; 115 Pitch Document.pdf; Heritage Study_Impacts of Paris.pdf; Section 115 How it Woks.docx; Paris agreement_DDay_DRAFT.docx; NERA-CPP-Final-Nov-7.pdf

I'm working on letter, withdrawal packet and stern statements points

From: Dravis, Samantha
Sent: Thursday, April 27, 2017 10:01 AM
To: Bowman, Liz <Bowman.Liz@epa.gov>; Gunasekara, Mandy <Gunasekara.Mandy@epa.gov>; Bolen, Brittany <bolen.brittany@epa.gov>
Subject: RE: E&E News: Today could expose strengths, and weaknesses, in Cabinet, 4/27/17

Mandy could you send me one more time the final docs you want me to organize for Administrator?

From: Bowman, Liz
Sent: Thursday, April 27, 2017 10:00 AM
To: Gunasekara, Mandy <Gunasekara.Mandy@epa.gov>; Dravis, Samantha <dravis.samantha@epa.gov>; Bolen, Brittany <bolen.brittany@epa.gov>
Subject: FW: E&E News: Today could expose strengths, and weaknesses, in Cabinet, 4/27/17

Sorry to be a nag here, but this is why I want to include a strong intro/conclusion in that letter...

From: So, Katherine
Sent: Thursday, April 27, 2017 9:50 AM
To: AO OPA OMR CLIPS <AO_OPA_OMR_CLIPS@epa.gov>
Cc: So, Katherine <so.katherine@epa.gov>
Subject: E&E News: Today could expose strengths, and weaknesses, in Cabinet, 4/27/17

E&E News

<https://www.eenews.net/climatewire/2017/04/27/stories/1060053678>

Today could expose strengths, and weaknesses, in Cabinet

By Jean Chemnick 4/27/17

Today's meeting of top officials in the White House situation room could shed light not only on the fate of U.S. participation in the Paris Agreement but on which Trump administration players have the most influence with their boss.

The meeting brings together Cabinet members and advisers who are divided on whether President Trump should follow through on his promise to "cancel" the deal.

While much has been made of the rising influence within the White House of "globalists" like Trump's son-in-law Jared Kushner, who is said to favor the deal, over nationalists, like adviser Steve Bannon, Cabinet members on hand today have equally diverse views.

Secretary of State Rex Tillerson is the senior U.S. diplomat, but he has said nothing about this particular multilateral agreement since his confirmation in January.

"As you know, the review is ongoing with respect to the Paris Agreement. We're looking at it still," said a senior State Department official yesterday.

Bloomberg reported Tuesday night on a leaked draft memo circulating within the State Department arguing that Paris imposes few burdens on the United States. The document stops short of recommending that Trump remain in the deal, and it's unclear whether that document was intended to inform the secretary or whether it might represent his views. He said during the confirmation process that the United States could benefit from retaining a "seat at the table" in climate negotiations.

While Tillerson hasn't voiced an opinion publicly on Paris since assuming his new role, he may have raised it with Trump. The former Exxon Mobil Corp. CEO meets frequently with the president behind closed doors, and the State Department official said Paris has been featured in some of those conversations.

"I can't speak definitively whether this has been a frequent topic, but he meets with the president, sometimes multiple occasions during any week, and I'm sure it's come up in some way, shape or form on multiple occasions," said the official.

Sen. Ben Cardin (D-Md.) told reporters at a briefing yesterday that Tillerson has told him he expects to be Trump's top adviser on Paris.

"He's the key point person in the administration on this issue," said Cardin, the senior Democrat on the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. "That's what he tells me."

Cardin said U.S. EPA Administrator Scott Pruitt, who will also attend this afternoon's meeting, has deferred to Tillerson in conversations with him. But unlike Tillerson, Pruitt has not been shy about making his own opposition known, saying in an interview with "Fox & Friends" earlier this month that the United States should exit the agreement because it's a "bad deal."

The former Oklahoma attorney general, who pitted himself for years against EPA regulations before Trump appointed him to head the agency, has said it will make it harder to dismantle greenhouse gas rules if the United States is a party to a U.N. agreement that describes emissions as a dire threat.

Pruitt wants a 'kill shot'

Rep. Kevin Cramer (R-N.D.) said at an event Tuesday night that Pruitt brought that argument up again this week during a meeting with electric power cooperatives at EPA headquarters.

Cramer said Pruitt was particularly anxious to have a "kill shot" at the Clean Power Plan, which Trump has set about repealing but which will be the subject of extensive litigation.

Paul Bodnar, the White House National Security Council's former climate chief, said he was surprised at how vocal Pruitt has been on Paris. Trump is set to make his own announcement on the deal by the end of May and has said he is "studying" the issue.

"It's unusual to have a Cabinet secretary out in public there lobbying the president and his Cabinet colleagues on an undecided issue," said Bodnar, who is now with the Rocky Mountain Institute. He added that "being vocal probably magnifies Pruitt's influence in this media-centric administration. But it could also be a sign that he's about to lose the debate."

Cramer, who has hinted at support for remaining in the deal, seemed to dismiss Pruitt's position that U.S. participation in Paris could arm environmental litigants. The congressman said he was more convinced that staying in Paris was the right move after hosting the Tuesday panel in a House office building, though he favors weaker emissions commitments.

Cramer called the administration's public airing of the Paris decision "kind of noble."

But Robert Stavins, director of the Harvard Environmental Economics Program, said Tillerson's relative absence from the public debate over Paris might be a strategy learned from his decades in the private sector.

"My assumption is that Mr. Tillerson, being a successful former CEO — who operates, like all successful CEOs, not on the basis of ideology but on the basis of evidence — remains supportive of the USA remaining a party to the Paris climate agreement," he said.

Companies ranging from BP PLC to Google have come out in favor of the deal, arguing that U.S. influence over its direction would benefit American businesses. "As a corporation man, however, he also understands and observes hierarchy, and so I would not expect him to make public statements about his position, but to voice it only privately, such as to the president," Stavins said.

Tillerson appears to have an ally in Energy Secretary Rick Perry, who said this week that he would not urge a Paris exit. But other Cabinet members have been more circumspect. Commerce Secretary Wilbur Ross said Tuesday: "It's really outside my area."

"I'm having enough difficulty dealing with the trade issues rather than poaching on other people's territory," said Ross, whose agency oversees climate science work at the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration.

White House deputies gathered Tuesday to lay the groundwork for today's meeting, which was rescheduled from earlier in the month. It's unclear whether it will produce a single recommendation for the president or a menu of options. Trump is expected to make the final call.

"It would be welcome news if the president would announce the United States will continue to sit at the table and will continue to work with the international community so that we can all take responsibility," Cardin said yesterday.

He added that during a Monday meeting with U.N. ambassadors in Washington, several of them brought up the Paris Agreement with him and Sen. Lindsey Graham (R-S.C.).

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UNITED STATES ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION AGENCY
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20460

Consequences of the “America Second” Approach and the Paris Agreement

THE ADMINISTRATOR

- The Paris Agreement is a bad deal for America in two primary ways: *first*, by frontloading costs for the American people to the detriment of our economy and job growth; and *second*, by extracting meaningless commitments from top global emitters.
- The Obama Administration made a promise to reduce U.S. emissions 26 to 28% below 2005 levels by 2025. Industry groups and environmentalists agreed this commitment was “unachievable.”¹

Undermines U.S. Competitiveness and Jobs: A recent report² assessing the overall impact of higher energy costs found over the next decade, United States involvement in the Paris Agreement would result in:

- An aggregate U.S. gross domestic product (GDP) loss of over \$2.5 trillion.
- An overall annual average shortfall of nearly 400,000 American jobs, including an average manufacturing shortfall of over 200,000 jobs; and
- A total income loss of more than \$30,000 for a family of four.

Green Climate Fund: The Green Climate Fund (GCF) is the key funding mechanism of the Paris Climate Agreement. The beneficiaries are small, developing nations. The fund is slated to grow to \$100 billion by 2020.

- The Green Climate Fund currently has \$10.13 billion contributed from 43 governments.³
- Obama Administration unlawfully committed \$3 billion to the Green Climate Fund, which is approximately 30% of the initial funding.⁴

¹ US Senate EPW Committee Hearing, “Road to Paris: Examining the President’s International Climate Agenda and Implications for Domestic Environmental Policy,” July 8, 2015, available at:

<https://www.epw.senate.gov/public/index.cfm/hearings?ID=99E70038-D5CB-4E63-8695-231A8995D089>

² Heritage Foundation, “To Save American Jobs, Leave the Paris Agreement Now,” March 20, 2017, available at: <http://www.heritage.org/jobs-and-labor/commentary/save-american-jobs-leave-the-paris-agreement-now>

³ Green Climate Fund, “Contributors,” available at: <http://www.greenclimate.fund/partners/contributors/resources-mobilized>.

⁴ OECD “2020 Projections of Climate Finance Towards the USD 100 Billion Goal” (2016) available at: <https://www.oecd.org/environment/cc/Projecting%20Climate%20Change%202020%20WEB.pdf>

- Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) estimates that by 2020 \$67 billion will be raised from public financing (private funding is expected to make up the rest).
- At current commitment levels, the U.S. would commit \$18 to \$20 billion.
- China will contribute \$0.⁵
- India will contribute \$0.⁶
- Russia will contribute \$0.⁷
- Days after the Obama Administration unlawfully submitted its initial contribution of \$500 million, the Green Climate Fund announced it would increase the number of permanent staff by 150% - from 56 to 140 positions.⁸
 - The second unlawful installment was made on January 17, 2017.

Clean Power Plan and other costly climate regulations: The Obama Administration pledged to reduce US GHGs 26-28%. To satisfy his promise, it developed a host of domestic actions that would raise energy costs, undermine the U.S. economic competitiveness, and impede job growth. The centerpiece was the Clean Power Plan, which was projected to do the following:

- Cost of Compliance: \$292 billion over 10 years
- Result in double digit electricity price increases in 40 states.
- Cost over 125,000 American jobs.
- Produce modest environmental benefits undone by a few days of emissions from China.
 - 14 days of dioxide reductions (CO₂) emission from China would offset the CO₂ emissions achieved in 2030 -- the final year of the CPP.

Set-up to Fail: The Obama Administration commitments set the United States up to fail as the 26-28% emission rate reductions by 2025 are not achievable, which environmental groups and industry agree. There was a 40% gap in meeting the emission reduction with the Clean Power Plan. Without the CPP, the methane rule for oil and gas, the gap is over 60%.

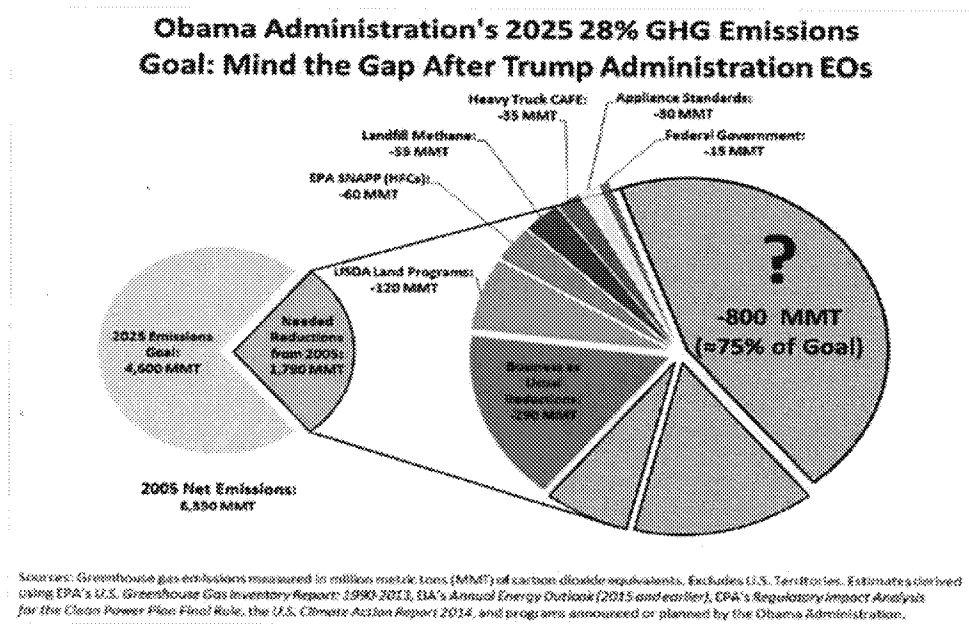
- Below highlights the effect of President's Trump Energy Independence Executive Order on the Obama-era commitments.

⁵ Id.

⁶ Id.

⁷ Id.

⁸ CNS News, "Days After \$500 Million US Contribution, U.N. Green Climate Fund Increases Staff by 150%," March 14, 2016, available at: <http://www.cnsnews.com/news/article/patrick-goodenough/>.



Not an opportunity to renegotiate or back-slide on current commitments: Paris Agreement parties are required to submit a new commitment every five years starting in 2020 reflective of the “ratcheting up” provision that requires commitments to be more ambitious than the previous submission. There is no provision that allows for reduced commitments.

Additional Points on Paris

Justifications to stay in Paris are not about Climate Change: All the arguments to stay in the Paris Climate Agreement have nothing to do with climate change.

- National Security should be discussed and negotiated through a national security agreement with national security experts.
- Trade objectives should be discussed and negotiated through a trade agreement with trade experts.
- This approach ensures the US will be well positioned, relying on the best available experts to get the most out of our deals.

We can renegotiate a better deal: Getting out of Paris does not limit future conversations with the same international parties about a better deal or approach to climate. We will still have a seat at the table.

Threatens American Energy Independence Executive Order and regulatory roll-back: Staying in Paris leaves in place a mechanism by which environmentalists and Obama's activist judges could compel the EPA to put in place a future Clean Power Plan or worse.

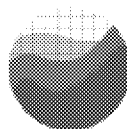
- Even though we are getting rid of CPP and other economically damaging regulations, there is a provision in the Clean Air Act (Section 115) that the Paris Agreement could be used to put in place a rule similar to the Clean Power Plan.
- Under the expectation that Hilary Clinton would win the election, environmental groups started laying the groundwork for using Section 115 under the Paris Agreement last year.
- Environmentalists and democrats are attempting to downplay this threat in hopes of keeping the Paris Agreement mechanism in place.

If Peabody Coal is mentioned: Peabody's much reported support is misleading.

- In a private meeting the company was proposed with a leading hypothetical premised on reducing the domestic commitments under the Paris Agreement.
- Such actions would be prevented by the "ratcheting up" provision in the Paris Agreement, which requires emissions commitments be "more ambitious" than the previous submission.
- Peabody's response to the hypothetical was that they would not actively work against the administration under such circumstances. This was leaked to the press characterizing it as "support."

International Clean Air Provision

Section 115 of
Clean Air Act



LEGAL PATHWAYS TO REDUCING GREENHOUSE GAS EMISSIONS UNDER SECTION 115 OF THE CLEAN AIR ACT

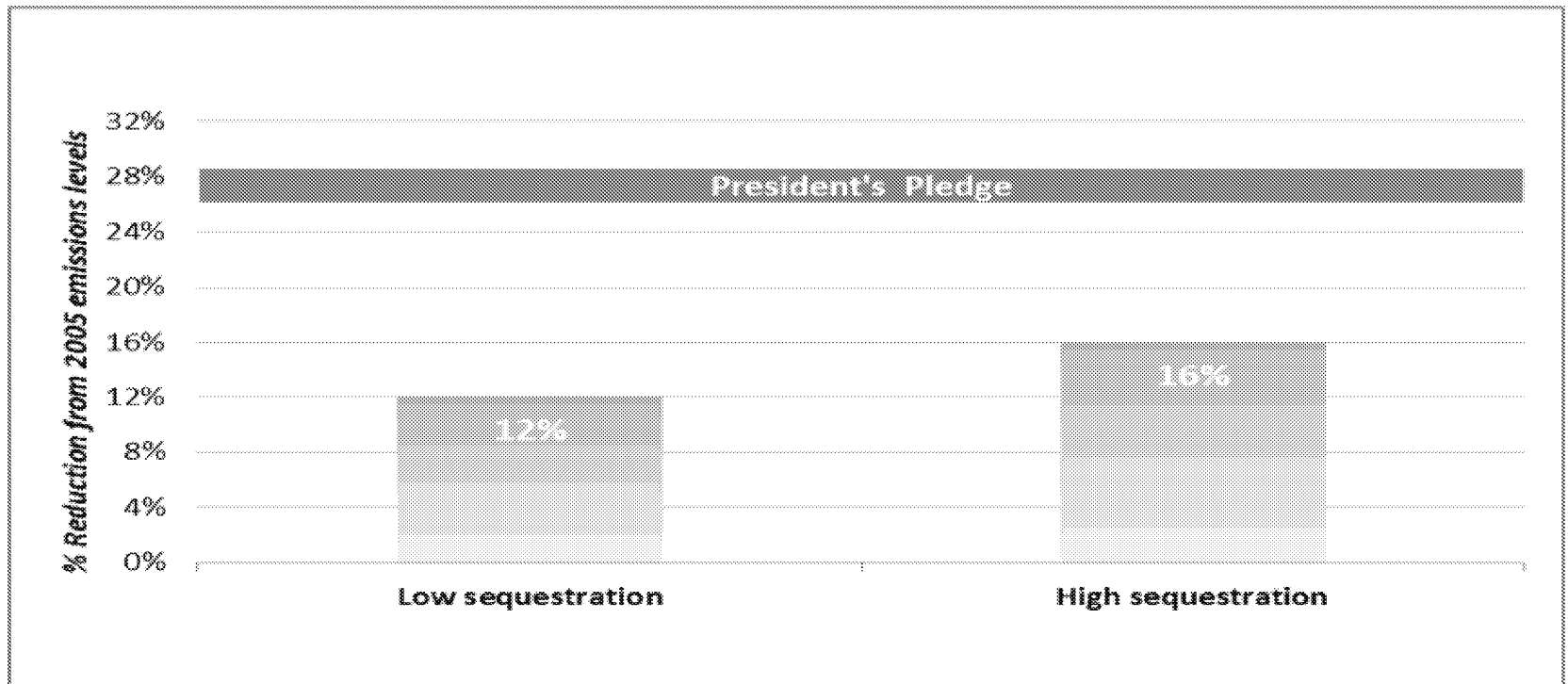
January 2016

***Coordinating Lead Author:** Michael Burger (Sabin Center for Climate Change Law, Columbia Law School)*

***Lead Authors:** Ann E. Carlson (Emmett Institute on Climate Change and the Environment, University of California-Los Angeles School of Law), Michael B. Gerrard (Sabin Center for Climate Change Law, Columbia Law School), Jayni Foley Hein (Institute for Policy Integrity, New York University School of Law), Jason A. Schwartz (Institute for Policy Integrity, New York University School of Law), Keith J. Benes (Center on Global Energy Policy, Columbia University School of International and Public Affairs)*

***Endorsing Reviewers:** Jonathan Z. Cannon (University of Virginia Law School), Daniel Esty (Yale Law School), Daniel Farber (University of California-Berkeley School of Law), Douglas A. Kysar (Yale Law School), Michael Livermore (University of Virginia Law School), Richard Revesz (New York University School of Law), Michael Wara (Stanford Law School)*

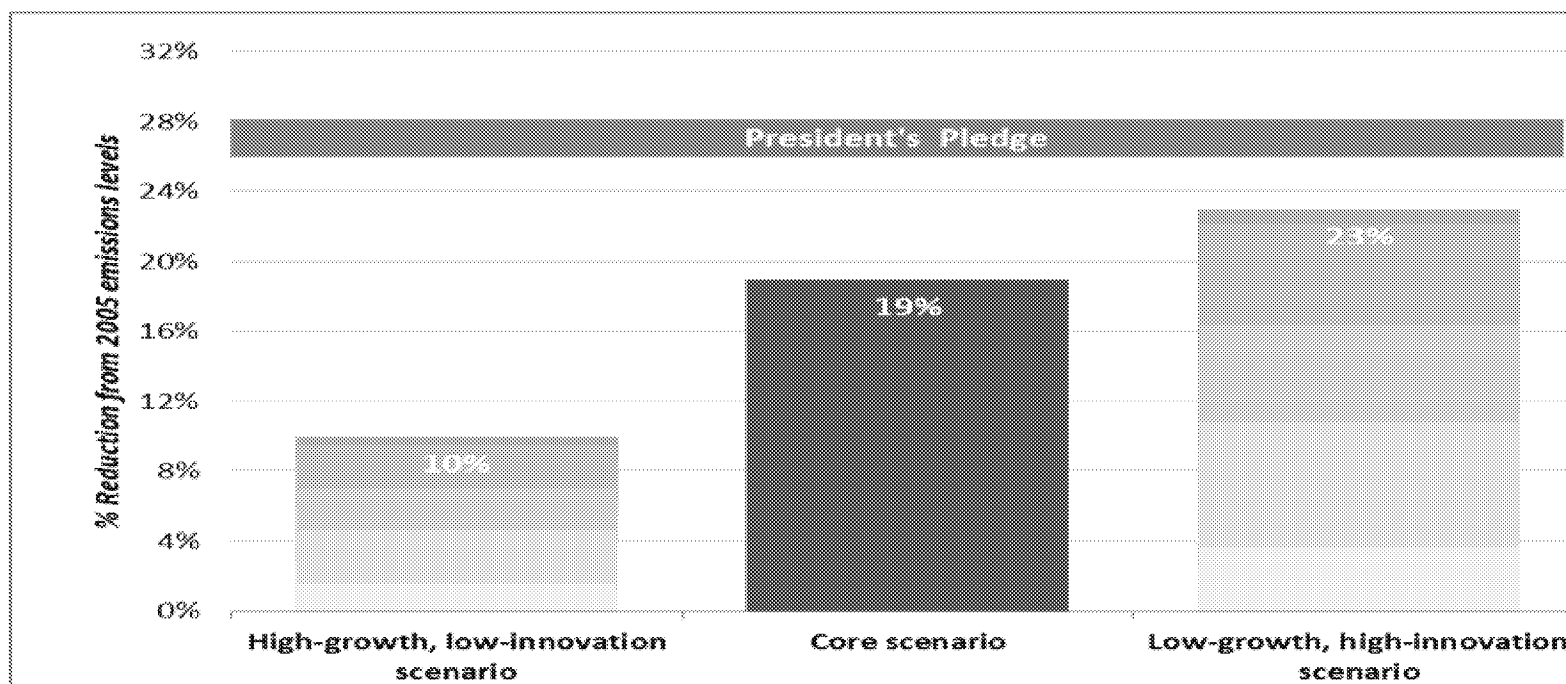
U.S. State Department Projections: U.S. 2025 Emission Reductions under Current Measures



The State Department "Current Measures" scenario includes policies that have been finalized through mid-2015, including EPA's Clean Power Plan for the electricity sector.

Source: U.S. Department of State, *2016 Second Biennial Report of the United States*.

Rhodium Group Projections: U.S. 2025 Emission Reductions with “Policies in the Pipeline”



The Rhodium Group “Policies in the Pipeline” scenarios include the policies in the State Department “Current Measures” scenario and augment them by: (1) adding the December 2015 extension of the wind and solar tax credits; (2) assuming finalization of the EPA’s proposed regulations of methane from new oil and gas facilities and new and existing landfills; (3) assuming 100% participation in EPA’s program for voluntary methane reductions from existing oil and facilities; (4) assuming finalization of EPA’s proposed standards for medium- and heavy-duty trucks; and (5) assuming adoption of the U.S. proposal to phase down production and consumption of HFCs under the Montreal Protocol.

The “core” scenario incorporates the State Department’s “high sequestration” projections and also assumes the highest potential reductions from the Clean Power Plan and other current and proposed policies. It adopts the assumptions about economic growth and technological innovation used by the Energy Information Agency in its 2015 Annual Energy Outlook (EIA 2015 AEO). The “high-growth, low-innovation” scenario assumes (1) higher economic growth and slower technological innovation, (2) lower sequestration, and (3) fewer reductions from current and proposed policies than the core scenario. The “low-growth, high-innovation” scenario assumes slower economic growth and higher technological innovation than the core scenario.

Source: Rhodium Group, *Taking Stock: Progress Toward Meeting US Climate Goals* (January 28, 2016).

Clean Air Act Section 115

International air pollution

Sec. 115(a): Endangerment of Public Health of Welfare in Foreign Countries from Pollution Emitted in United States

Whenever the Administrator, upon receipt of reports ... from any duly constituted international agency has reason to believe that any air pollutant ... emitted in the United States cause or contribute to air pollution which may reasonably be anticipated to endanger public health or welfare in a foreign country or whenever the Secretary of State requests him to do so... the Administrator shall give formal notification thereof to the Governor of the State in which such emissions originate.

Clean Air Act Section 115

International air pollution

Sec. 115(c): Reciprocity

This section shall apply only to a foreign country which the Administrator determines has given the United States essentially the same rights with respect to the prevention or control of air pollution occurring in that country as is given that country by this section.

Clean Air Act Section 115

International air pollution

Sec. 115(b): Prevention or Elimination of Endangerment

The notice of the Administrator shall be deemed to be a finding ... which requires a plan revision with respect to so much of the applicable implementation plan as is inadequate to prevent or eliminate the endangerment Any foreign country so affected by such emission of pollutant or pollutants shall be invited to appear at any public hearing associated with any revision of the appropriate portion of the applicable implementation plan.

Clean Air Act Section 110

State implementation plans

Sec. 110(a):

...

(2) Each implementation plan submitted by a State ... shall –
(A) include enforceable emission limitations and other control measures, means or techniques (including economic incentives such as fees, marketable permits, and auctions of emissions rights) ... as may be necessary or appropriate to meet the applicable requirements of this chapter.

Advantages to Using Section 115

- Closes Emissions Gap
- Economic Efficiency
 - Use of market mechanisms
 - Economy-wide scope
- Administrative Efficiency
 - Can obviate need for multiple sector-by-sector regulations
- Complements the Clean Power Plan

Implementation Issues

- Setting the national target
- Apportioning reductions among states
 - Equal Percentage, Marginal Cost, Combination
- Covering fuels and natural gas
- Offsets
- Federal implementation plans

Procedural Reciprocity after the Paris Agreement

Procedural Right	Section 115	UNFCCC
Right to participate in public hearing	✓	✓
Comment on sub-national implementation plan	✓	✓
Comment on national target and nat'l implementation		✓
Right to receive answers to written questions		✓
Right to technical review by experts		✓
Right to biennial progress reports		✓
Right to additional pledge every 5 years		✓

Substantive Reciprocity after the Paris Agreement

Country	GHG Emissions (MtCO ₂ e in 2012)	Climate Action Tracker Effort Sharing Assessment
China	10,684	Medium
United States	5,883	Medium
European Union	4,123	Medium
India	2,887	Medium
Brazil	1,823	Medium

BACKGROUND

No. 3130 | JUNE 9, 2016

The U.S. Should Withdraw from the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change

Nicolas D. Loris, Brett D. Schaefer, and Steven Groves

Abstract

In order to satisfy its commitments to the recently signed Paris Agreement on climate change, the Obama Administration plans to reduce U.S. greenhouse gas (GHG) emissions in 2025 by 26 percent to 28 percent below 2005 levels. If the U.S. follows through with this plan by restricting access to carbon dioxide-emitting natural resources, American households and businesses will incur higher energy costs. These increases in costs will, in turn, slow economic growth and reduce per capita income growth while having little to no impact on the projected warming. Withdrawing from the U.N. Framework Convention on Climate Change would send a clear signal that the U.S. believes that the widespread international approach is costly and ineffective and would avoid future arrears to the UNFCCC as current law should prohibit U.S. financial contributions after the Palestinian Authority formally acceded to the treaty. Withdrawal would not preclude the U.S. from studying climate change, understanding the risks, and working with a smaller group of nations through informal arrangements to undertake appropriate steps. It would, however, prevent abuse of the UNFCCC framework as a vehicle for asserting U.S. commitments while avoiding Senate advice and consent in the treaty process.

On April 22, 2016, the United States, along with over 170 other nations, signed the Paris Agreement on climate change. Negotiated in December 2015, the agreement contains both binding and non-binding commitments intended to combat global warming by shifting the global energy economy away from the use of natural resources such as coal, natural gas, and oil, and toward renewable sources like solar and wind power. As part of its Intended Nation-

KEY POINTS

- The Obama Administration plans to reduce U.S. greenhouse gas (GHG) emissions in 2025 by 26 percent to 28 percent below 2005 levels.
- Because the plan requires restricting the use of natural resources like coal, oil, and natural gas, the plan will increase energy costs for all Americans, slow economic growth, and reduce per capita income growth—all while having little to no impact on the projected warming.
- The Administration is using U.S. participation in the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) to avoid Senate advice and consent in the treaty process.
- The United States' participation in the UNFCCC has been costly, ineffective, and is predicated on the premise that man-made global warming is an urgent threat when the science suggests otherwise. The U.S. should withdraw from the UNFCCC.

This paper, in its entirety, can be found at <http://report.heritage.org/bg3130>

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Nothing written here is to be construed as necessarily reflecting the views of The Heritage Foundation or as an attempt to aid or hinder the passage of any bill before Congress.

ally Determined Contributions (INDC), the Obama Administration announced plans to reduce U.S. greenhouse gas (GHG) emissions in 2025 by 26 percent to 28 percent compared to 2005 levels.¹ If the U.S. follows through with this plan, American households and businesses will incur higher energy costs. These increased costs will, in turn, slow economic growth and reduce per capita income growth while having little to no impact on the projected warming.

The Paris Agreement is the latest in a series of costly policy choices the U.S. government has made because of its participation in the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC). Participation in the UNFCCC is predicated on the premise that GHG emissions from human activity are predominantly responsible for and will lead to significant increases in average global temperatures and that countries around the world must act immediately to stop dangerous levels of global warming. Though the climate is changing, as it always has, the threat is not as clear, imminent, and catastrophic as the UNFCCC makes it out to be.²

Further, the international body is convinced that the only means to successfully combat global warming is to reduce the use of conventional fuels that power the global economy. Such a dramatic transformation will drive energy costs higher for developed nations and block access to dependable energy sources for developing ones. America's participation in international climate change programs has wasted taxpayer money and led to questionable and harmful interventions in energy markets through government-backed financial programs, mandates, and heavy-handed regulation.

The United States should withdraw from the UNFCCC. Withdrawing from the UNFCCC would acknowledge that the current international approach to climate change is costly, ineffective, and unworkable. It would also avoid likely U.S. arrears

to the UNFCCC in the future as current law should prohibit U.S. financial contributions to the organization after the Palestinian Authority formally acceded to the treaty in March 2016.³ Withdrawing from the UNFCCC would not preclude the U.S. government from studying climate science, understanding any potential risks associated with climate change, and working with a smaller group of nations through informal arrangements to undertake appropriate steps. However, withdrawing will prevent future Administrations from using the existing UNFCCC framework to avoid Senate advice and consent in the treaty process as required by Article II Section 2 of the U.S. Constitution.

A Brief History of the UNFCCC and Its Stated Goals

In 1992, United Nations member states attended the Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED). More commonly known as the Rio Earth Summit, the meeting led to the signing of the UNFCCC. The main objective of the UNFCCC is to achieve the

[s]tabilization of greenhouse gas concentrations in the atmosphere at a level that would prevent dangerous anthropogenic interference with the climate system. Such a level should be achieved within a time-frame sufficient to allow ecosystems to adapt naturally to climate change, to ensure that food production is not threatened and to enable economic development to proceed in a sustainable manner.⁴

The treaty entered into force in 1994 and currently has 197 parties, including the U.S. Since 1995, the parties have met annually to discuss steps to address man-made global warming. The signature achievement for the parties was the Kyoto Protocol, adopted

1. Steven Groves, "Obama's Plan to Avoid Senate Review of the Paris Protocol," Heritage Foundation *Backgrounder* No. 3055, September 21, 2015, <http://www.heritage.org/research/reports/2015/09/obamas-plan-to-avoid-senate-review-of-the-paris-protocol>.
2. David W. Kreutzer, Nicolas D. Loris, Katie Tubb, and Kevin D. Dayaratna, "The State of Climate Science: No Justification for Extreme Policies," Heritage Foundation *Backgrounder* No. 3119, April 22, 2016, <http://www.heritage.org/research/reports/2016/04/the-state-of-climate-science-no-justification-for-extreme-policies>.
3. United Nations Treaty Collection, "United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change," https://treaties.un.org/pages/ViewDetailsIII.aspx?src=TREATY&mtdsg_no=XXVII-7&chapter=27&Temp=mtdsg3&lang=en (accessed May 13, 2016).
4. Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change, 1.2.1 Article 2 of the Convention, https://www.ipcc.ch/publications_and_data/ar4/wg3/en/ch1s1-2.html (accessed May 13, 2016).

in December 1997.⁵ The Kyoto Protocol committed 37 industrialized countries to legally binding GHG reduction targets.⁶ The agreement has two commitment periods, the first spanning from 2005–2012 and the second from 2013–2020. The second commitment period is known as the Doha amendment, which commits parties to reducing GHG emissions 18 percent below 1990 levels by 2020.⁷ Out of the 37 countries participating in Kyoto, only 7 have ratified the Doha amendment.

Recognizing the economic costs and the the fact that the GHG reductions outlined in the Kyoto Protocol would have little to no impact on projected warming, the United States never ratified the Kyoto Protocol.⁸ Canada withdrew from the agreement in 2012.⁹ Japan, Russia, and New Zealand have stated they will not participate in the second commitment period requiring additional cuts to GHG emissions.

The Paris Protocol and the U.S. Commitment

Most recently, leaders from around the world convened at the 2015 U.N. Climate Change Conference in Paris. The agreement reached at the end of the Paris conference set a target of achieving a 2 degree Celsius warming threshold with intentions to limit warming to 1.5 degrees Celsius. The means of accomplishing the goal largely center on transitioning the global energy economy away from carbon-emitting natural resources toward renewable energy.

The agreement determines “that deep reductions in global emissions will be required in order to achieve the ultimate objective of the Convention and emphasize[s] the need for urgency in addressing climate change.”¹⁰

As part of the agreement, industrialized nations submitted INDC to reduce greenhouse gas emissions.¹¹ While the UNFCCC does not itself place any legally binding agreements on emissions reductions, it set the framework and impetus for U.S. climate policy to move America toward carbon-free energy sources and to significantly restrict carbon emissions from natural resources.¹²

The Obama Administration’s INDC aims to reduce U.S. GHG emissions by 26 percent to 28 percent below 2005 levels by the year 2025.¹³ The American delegation’s pledge to the UNFCCC is framed as the beginning of a “pathway from 2020 to deep, economy-wide emission reductions of 80 percent or more by 2050. The target is part of a longer range, collective effort to transition to a low-carbon global economy as rapidly as possible.”¹⁴

While the U.S. INDC is non-binding and the Administration emphasizes that the U.S. “does not intend to utilize international market mechanisms,” the plan outlines a litany of domestic regulations that the Administration proposed and implemented during President Obama’s time in office so far, including:

5. United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change, Kyoto Protocol, http://unfccc.int/kyoto_protocol/items/2830.php (accessed May 13, 2016).
6. Ibid.
7. United Nations Treaty Collection, Doha Amendment to the Kyoto Protocol, Chapter XXVII Environment, December 8, 2012, https://treaties.un.org/Pages/ViewDetails.aspx?src=TREATY&mtidsg_no=XXVII-7-c&chapter=27&lang=en (accessed May 13, 2016).
8. Nicolas Loris, “Why Paris Climate Conference Is a Throwback to 1997 Kyoto Debate,” Daily Signal, December 1, 2015, <http://dailysignal.com/2015/12/01/why-paris-climate-conference-is-a-throwback-to-1997-kyoto-debate/>.
9. Government of Canada, “Canada’s Withdrawal from the Kyoto Protocol,” December 15, 2011, <https://www.ec.gc.ca/Publications/default.asp?lang=En&n=EE4F06AE-1&xmli=EE4F06AE-13EF-453B-B633-FCB3BAECEB4F&offset=3&toc=hide> (accessed May 13, 2016).
10. United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change, “Adoption of the Paris Agreement,” December 12, 2015, <https://unfccc.int/resource/docs/2015/cop21/eng/109.pdf> (accessed May 13, 2016).
11. United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change, “INDCs as Communicated by Parties,” <http://www4.unfccc.int/submissions/indc/Submission%20Pages/submissions.aspx> (accessed May 13, 2016).
12. The agreement displays biases toward politically preferred low-carbon energy sources. For instance, despite the fact that nuclear energy provides baseload carbon-free electricity, the agreement does not mention nuclear power once. Instead, the agreement pushes for the adoption of more renewable energy, particularly in Africa.
13. UNFCCC, “Party: United States of America—Intended Nationally Determined Contribution,” March 31, 2015, <http://www4.unfccc.int/submissions/INDC/Published%20Documents/United%20States%20of%20America/1/U.S.%20Cover%20Note%20INDC%20and%20Accompanying%20Information.pdf> (accessed May 13, 2016).
14. Ibid.

- Carbon-dioxide regulations for new and existing power plants. Combined, these two regulations serve as major component of the Administration's global warming agenda.
- Fuel-efficiency and GHG regulations for light and heavy-duty vehicles.
- Energy-efficiency regulations for commercial and residential buildings as well as appliances.¹⁵
- Environmental Protection Agency (EPA)-approved alternatives to hydrochlorofluorocarbons.
- Methane regulations for landfills and the oil and gas sector.
- Executive orders to reduce GHG emissions by the federal government.¹⁶

Cumulatively, the impact of past and present Administrations' involvement in international climate change programs has come at great cost to American taxpayers and the economy broadly and have done little, if anything, for the environment.

American Participation in the UNFCCC Part of a Costly Attempt at Economic Transformation

Americans have already paid a steep price for the United States' involvement in the UNFCCC. Policies supporting domestic and international climate efforts have resulted in wasted taxpayer money, higher energy prices, and special treatment from the government for preferred energy sources and technologies.

The message perpetuated by participation in the UNFCCC is anti-development in nature. Such sentiment was evident in UNFCCC Executive Secretary Christiana Figueres's statement regarding international commitments to reduce GHG emis-

sions. "This is the first time in the history of mankind," she said, "that we are setting ourselves the task of intentionally, within a defined period of time to change the economic development model that has been reigning for at least 150 years, since the industrial revolution."¹⁷

This aggressively burdensome agenda involves significant costs.

Global Warming Regulations Mean Higher Energy Prices, Less Growth. Approximately 80 percent of America's energy needs are met through natural resources that emit carbon dioxide (CO₂), mainly coal, oil, and natural gas.¹⁸ Similarly, these energy resources provide more than 80 percent of the entire world's energy consumption. These natural resources constitute such a large share of the world's energy use because they are the most reliable electricity and transportation fuel at the most affordable price. Decarbonizing the energy economy will drive up energy costs, costs which must be absorbed or passed on for others to pay.

Heritage Foundation economists estimate that American household electricity expenditures will increase 15 percent to 20 percent over the next decade as a result of the Administration's global warming regulations.¹⁹ Other economic consequences of the Administration's war on affordable energy over the next two decades are estimated to be:

- An overall annual average shortfall of nearly 400,000 American jobs, including an average manufacturing shortfall of over 200,000 jobs;
- A total income loss of more than \$30,000 for a family of four; and
- An aggregate U.S. gross domestic product (GDP) loss of over \$2.5 trillion.

The same holds true for the rest of the world. Because of the abundance and affordability of coal,

15. While energy-efficiency regulations date back to the 1970s, the Obama Administration has increased the stringency of the standards.

16. UNFCCC, "Party: United States of America—Intended Nationally Determined Contribution."

17. UNRIC Brussels, United Nations Regional Information Centre (UNRIC), "Questions to Christiana Figueres on COP21," Europa, November 2, 2015, <https://europa.eu/eyd2015/en/unric/posts/questions-cristina-figueres-cop21> (accessed June 1, 2016).

18. Institute for Energy Research, Fossil Fuels, <http://instituteforenergyresearch.org/topics/encyclopedia/fossil-fuels/> (accessed May 13, 2016).

19. Kevin D. Dayaratna, Nicolas D. Loris, and David W. Kreutzer, "Consequences of Paris Protocol: Devastating Economic Costs, Essentially Zero Environmental Benefits," Heritage Foundation *Background* No. 3080, April 13, 2016, <http://www.heritage.org/research/reports/2016/04/consequences-of-paris-protocol-devastating-economic-costs-essentially-zero-environmental-benefits>.

oil, and natural gas, the International Energy Agency projects that carbon-emitting conventional fuels will provide 75 percent of the world's energy needs in 2040.²⁰ Reducing access to these natural resources will de-develop industrialized nations and retard development in China, India, Africa, the Middle East, and Southeast Asia (where much of the energy growth is projected to occur), and impede efforts to attain higher living standards in both developed and developing economies.

Costs to Taxpayers. Taxpayers have paid tens of billions of dollars in climate financing for direct grants, development finance, and export credit. From 2010 to 2014, the federal government spent \$12.5 billion on these initiatives.²¹ The amount the U.S. spent over the 2010–2012 period was more than six times higher than previous years and represented nearly one-quarter of the entire amount committed by developing countries.²²

In November 2014, President Obama also pledged to commit \$3 billion to the Green Climate Fund, an international fund established within the framework of the UNFCCC, to “promote the paradigm shift towards low-emission and climate-resilient development pathways by providing support to developing countries to limit or reduce their greenhouse gas emissions and to adapt to the impacts of climate change.”²³ The Administration and proponents of the Green Climate Fund have repeatedly called for contributions of \$100 billion per year in public and private financing from the United States and other countries to combat climate change. In March 2016, the Obama Administration made a \$500 million payment to the Green Climate Fund despite Congress never having authorized the funding.²⁴ This fund-

ing was taken from a bilateral assistance account that could have been used for programs to combat the Zika virus. The Obama Administration has since asked Congress to provide additional emergency funding because Zika poses a health threat both domestically and internationally.²⁵

Market-Distorting Effects. More damaging than the direct costs to the taxpayer, however, are the distortionary effects these climate regulations and finance programs have on the economy. For instance, the purpose of the Green Climate Fund is to use public money to leverage private-sector financing. No matter the mechanism, government financing programs siphon private capital investment out of the market and dictate where that money is spent. Projects with a government stamp-of-approval draw increased private-sector investments, taking money away from other potential investments. This government finger on the scale distorts market signals and skews how investors view risk and reward, leading to opportunity costs and misallocation of labor and capital that negatively impact the market.²⁶

Examining the Premise for Action: The State of Climate Science

One could argue that such economic hardship is acceptable if, as a result, the worst impacts of global warming are avoided. With each passing annual meeting, the U.N. has emphasized the urgency and severity of the threat of climate change. Its climate models have projected catastrophic warming, dangerous sea level rising, and more frequent and intense natural disasters centuries into the future. But climate realities tell a different story.

20. International Energy Agency, “World Energy Outlook 2015, Executive Summary,” <https://www.iea.org/Textbase/npsum/WEO2015SUM.pdf> (accessed May 13, 2016).

21. U.S. Department of State, “Mobilizing Climate Finance,” December 2015, <http://www.state.gov/e/oes/climate/faststart/index.htm> (accessed May 13, 2016).

22. Ibid.

23. The Green Climate Fund, <http://www.gcfund.org/about/the-fund.html> (accessed May 13, 2016).

24. Suzanne Goldenberg, “Obama Administration Pays Out \$500m to Climate Change Project,” *The Guardian*, March 7, 2016, <http://www.theguardian.com/environment/2016/mar/07/obama-administration-pays-out-500m-to-climate-change-project> (accessed May 13, 2016).

25. Senator James Lankford, “Obama Raided \$500M for Zika to Finance UN’s Green Climate Fund,” *Daily Signal*, May 23, 2016, <http://dailysignal.com/2016/05/23/obama-raided-500m-for-zika-to-finance-uns-green-climate-fund/> (accessed May 25, 2016).

26. Nicolas D. Loris, “Examining the Department of Energy’s Loan Portfolio,” testimony before the Subcommittee on Energy and Subcommittee on Oversight, Committee on Science, Space and Technology, U.S. House of Representatives, March 3, 2016, <http://www.heritage.org/research/testimony/examining-the-department-of-energys-loan-portfolio>.

General agreement exists (though not unanimity²⁷), even among climatologists commonly labeled as skeptics or “deniers,” that the Earth has warmed moderately over the past 60 years and that some portion of that warming can be attributed to man-made CO₂ emissions. However, absolutely no consensus exists that temperatures are increasing at an accelerating rate, that the planet is on a path toward a climate catastrophe, or that man-made emissions are the dominant cause of warming.²⁸ Climatologists differ on the various causes of climate change, the rate at which the earth is warming, the effect of man-made emissions on warming, the most accurate climate data and temperature sets to use, and the accuracy of climate models projecting decades and centuries into the future.²⁹ Furthermore, policymakers and proponents of GHG regulations routinely ignore the benefits of increased CO₂ emissions into the atmosphere and of a warmer world.

The fact of the matter is that observed climate data, failed climate projections, and inaccurate climate models provide enough reason to question calls for immediate domestic or international action on global warming.³⁰

As to how best to define, let alone measure, “extreme” weather as it relates to global warming impacts, the U.N.’s Intergovernmental Panel on

Climate Change (IPCC) is inconclusive.³¹ Extreme weather events are a poor metric for measuring global warming given the limited data, since extreme events are exactly that—out of the ordinary. Data sets are often far too limited to make many meaningful conclusions; data goes back only as far as the late 1800s with earlier records often being less sophisticated and less thorough.³² That said, the IPCC and analysis provided by the U.S. National Climatic Data Center conclude that there are no significant trends for floods, droughts, hurricanes, or tornadoes.³³

Perhaps one of the most glaring problems is the inaccuracy of the temperature increase projected by computer models—models upon which the UNFCCC relies for its recommendations to policymakers. Many errors could account for the failure of the models to predict actual temperatures accurately. One such disagreement is the different equilibrium climate sensitivity (ECS) estimates. ECS distributions attempt to quantify the earth’s temperature response to CO₂ emissions by measuring how the earth’s temperature changes from a doubling of CO₂ in the atmosphere. More recent analysis from a number of climatologists estimates that the ECS is about 2 degrees Celsius, much lower than the 3.3 degrees Celsius projected by the climate reports supported by the IPCC.³⁴

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27. See, for instance, Patrick Moore, “Natural Resource Adaptation: Protecting Ecosystems and Economies,” testimony before the Subcommittee on Oversight, Environment and Public Works Committee, U.S. Senate, February 25, 2014, http://www.epw.senate.gov/public/_cache/files/415b9cde-e664-4628-8fb5-ae3951197d03/22514hearingwitness testimony moore.pdf (accessed May 4, 2016), and Bart Strengers, Bart Verheggen, and Kees Vringer, “Climate Science Survey: Questions and Answers,” PBL Netherlands Environmental Assessment Agency, April 10, 2015, http://www.pbl.nl/sites/default/files/cms/publicaties/pbl-2015-climate-science-survey-questions-and-responses_01731.pdf (accessed March 15, 2016).
 28. Richard McNider and John Christy, “Why Kerry Is Flat Wrong on Climate Change,” *The Wall Street Journal*, February 19, 2014, <http://online.wsj.com/news/articles/SB10001424052702303945704579391611041331266?mg=reno64-wsj&url=http%3A%2F%2Fonline.wsj.com%2Farticle%2F5B10001424052702303945704579391611041331266.html> (accessed May 13, 2016).
 29. Claude Allegre et al., “Concerned Scientists Reply on Global Warming: The Authors of the Jan. 27 *Wall Street Journal* op-ed, ‘No Need to Panic about Global Warming,’ Respond to Their Critics,” *The Wall Street Journal*, February 21, 2012, <http://www.wsj.com/articles/SB10001424052970203646004577213244084429540> (accessed May 13, 2016).
 30. Kreutzer et al., “The State of Climate Science: No Justification for Extreme Policies.”
 31. Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change, “Managing the Risks of Extreme Events and Disasters to Advance Climate Change Adaptation,” United Nations, p. 124, http://www.ipcc-wg2.gov/SREX/images/uploads/SREX-All_FINAL.pdf (accessed May 13, 2016).
 32. Judith Curry, “Extreme Testimony,” *Climate Etc.*, March 8, 2011, <http://judithcurry.com/2011/03/08/extreme-testimony/> (accessed May 13, 2016).
 33. Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change, “Climate Change 2013: The Physical Science Basis,” <http://www.climatechange2013.org/> (accessed May 13, 2016), and and Craig Idso, “Extreme Weather Events: Are They Influenced by Rising Atmospheric CO₂?” Center for the Study of Carbon Dioxide and Global Change, September 10, 2014, <http://www.co2science.org/education/reports/extremewx/extremewx.pdf> (accessed May 13, 2016).
 34. Paul Knappenberger and Patrick Michaels, “Climate Models’ Tendency to Simulate Too Much Warming and the IPCC’s Attempt to Cover That Up,” October 10, 2013, Cato Institute, <http://www.cato.org/blog/climate-models-tendency-simulate-too-much-warming-ipccs-attempt-cover> (accessed May 13, 2016).

Another problem is the UNFCCC's approach. The framework's principles emphasize:

Where there are threats of serious or irreversible damage, lack of full scientific certainty should not be used as a reason for postponing such measures, taking into account that policies and measures to deal with climate change should be cost-effective so as to ensure global benefits at the lowest possible cost.³⁵

This is the so-called precautionary principle—that it is “better to be safe than sorry”—to address climate change. However, this is sloppy reasoning and ignores the costs, risks, and unintended consequences of decarbonizing the world. Affordable, reliable, and widely available energy is essential to addressing poverty and unlocking opportunity and prosperity.

The UNFCCC Is an Unworkable, Ineffective Approach—Even if Global Warming Is as Problematic as the IPCC Projects

U.N. climate conferences have become increasingly irrelevant, in large part because the approach taken is unworkable. International negotiations have centered on placing the economic burden of addressing climate change on a few dozen developed countries while asking little or nothing from more the 150 developing countries. But the primary source of GHG emissions is increasingly the developing world, most notably from large developing economies such as China and India.

Even if the U.S. cut 100 percent of its CO₂ emissions it would not make a significant difference in projected global warming. Using the same climate sensitivity (which is arguably higher than reality) as the IPCC assumes in its modeling, the world

would only be 0.137 degrees Celsius cooler by 2100 if the U.S. cut its CO₂ emissions by 100 percent. If the entire industrialized world cut its CO₂ emissions by 100 percent it would avert warming by only 0.278 degrees Celsius by the turn of the century.³⁶

Using the IPCC's own assumptions, to have a meaningful impact on global temperatures, any agreement would require significantly reduced emissions from both developed and developing countries. Such a course would be economically devastating, however, and was one reason why Canada pulled out of the Kyoto Protocol, and why Japan, Russia, and Canada have said they would not commit to a new treaty with binding commitments to reduce emissions.³⁷

Proponents of an international agreement and the UNFCCC point to China and India's commitment to reduce CO₂ emissions as evidence that the developing world is serious about such reductions. For example, China agreed to peak its GHG emissions by 2030. Non-binding promises to cut emissions 14 years from now are a small price to pay for continuing the status quo. In fact, China has been grossly underreporting its CO₂ emissions and use of coal. According to a November 2015 article from *The New York Times*:

China, the world's leading emitter of greenhouse gases from coal, has been burning up to 17 percent more coal a year than the government previously disclosed, according to newly released data. The finding could complicate the already difficult efforts to limit global warming. Even for a country of China's size, the scale of the correction is immense. The sharp upward revision in official figures means that China has released much more carbon dioxide—almost a billion more tons a year according to initial calculations—than previously estimated.³⁸

35. United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change, Article 3 Principles, <https://unfccc.int/resource/docs/convkp/conveng.pdf> (accessed May 13, 2016).

36. Paul C. Knappenberger and Patrick J. Michaels, “Current Wisdom: We Calculate, You Decide: A Handy-Dandy Carbon Tax Temperature-Savings Calculator,” *Cato At Liberty*, July 23, 2013, <http://www.cato.org/blog/current-wisdom-we-calculate-you-decide-handy-dandy-carbon-tax-temperature-savings-calculator> (accessed May 13, 2016).

37. Patrick Michaels and Paul C. “Chip” Knappenberger, “We Calculate, You Decide: A Handy-Dandy Carbon Tax Temperature-Savings Calculator,” *Cato Institute*, June 23, 2013, <http://www.cato.org/blog/current-wisdom-we-calculate-you-decide-handy-dandy-carbon-tax-temperature-savings-calculator> (accessed June 1, 2016).

38. Chris Buckley, “China Burns Much More Coal Than Reported, Complicating Climate Talks,” *The New York Times*, November 3, 2015, http://www.nytimes.com/2015/11/04/world/asia/china-burns-much-more-coal-than-reported-complicating-climate-talks.html?_r=0 (accessed May 13, 2016).

What are the odds that China will be more forthright and transparent in the future when accuracy could have an actual impact? Further, China's refusal to address its current severe air and water quality problems, neither of which has anything to do with reducing GHG emissions, should raise serious concerns as to whether China will follow through with any commitment.

China's improved standards of living have been accomplished through the use of CO₂-emitting conventional energy. China's GDP per capita has increased from a little more than \$300 in 1990 to nearly \$7,000 today.³⁹ This growth is impressive, but China's per capita GDP is still a fraction of the developed world's. Decarbonization would hinder China's economic growth, which is why authorities have resisted calls to restrict GHG emissions in previous agreements. China is unlikely to honor its promises in 2030 if it would hamper continued economic growth.

India's pledged cuts are similarly dubious. India recently vowed to cut its carbon intensity by 33 percent to 35 percent by 2030.⁴⁰ However, roughly 22 percent of Indians still do not have access to electricity.⁴¹ Domestic political pressures to increase access to electricity and living standards are going to be far more pressing than international promises to make GHG emissions cuts.

Closer inspection, however, reveals that India has already incorporated this reality into its pledge. The promised reductions are not for CO₂ emissions, but for cuts in the ratio of CO₂ emissions to GDP, i.e., emissions intensity. This ratio will go down so long as CO₂ emissions rise less rapidly than GDP. For example, the carbon intensity of the U.S. economy dropped by more than 45 percent between 1981 and 2011 even as CO₂ emissions rose 18 percent.⁴²

India's GDP is projected to rise from \$1.15 trillion

in 2005 (the base year for India's promised cuts) to \$6.9 trillion in 2030.⁴³ Over the same span CO₂ emissions are projected to rise from 1.2 gigatons (Gt) to 3.8 Gt.⁴⁴ Simple division shows that the CO₂ intensity in 2005 was 1.05 Gt per trillion dollars and that it is expected to drop to 0.577 Gt per trillion dollars in 2030. Therefore, projections for India's GDP and CO₂ emissions combine to predict that a business-as-usual scenario (one without any policies beyond those currently in place) will lead to a 45 percent reduction in India's carbon intensity by 2030. The promised cuts are 33 percent to 35 percent. In other words, if India does nothing at all, it is likely to more than meet its "bold commitment."

Proponents of the UNFCCC too quickly ignore the threats that exist with proposals limiting CO₂ emissions. The risks associated with poverty and importance of energy to alleviating those risks are much more clear, imminent, and solvable than the risks associated with carbon-emitting energy sources' impact on global warming. The focus for China, India, and the rest of the developing world should be promoting economic development and introducing economic freedom. Increasing access to affordable, dependable energy is a critical component of improving human well-being in these countries. Growing economically will equip citizens with the resources to combat future challenges, whether they are climate-related or not.

Withdraw and Prohibit Funding

In summary, (1) considerable debate remains about the reliability of climate predictions; (2) proposed actions will be ineffective in actually achieving the results regarded as necessary; and (3) the economic costs far outstrip the benefits. However, there are also political factors that should be taken into account.

39. The World Bank, GDP Per Capita (Current US\$) Data Series, 2014, <http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/NY.GDP.PCAP.CD> (accessed May 13, 2016).

40. Karl Ritter and Katy Daigl, "India Vows to Cut Carbon Intensity, Boost Renewable Energy in Pledge for Paris Climate Talks," *U.S. News & World Report*, October 2, 2015, <http://www.usnews.com/news/world/articles/2015/10/02/india-vows-to-cut-carbon-intensity-in-paris-pledge> (accessed May 13, 2016).

41. The World Bank, Access to Electricity (% of Population), <http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/EG.ELC.ACCS.ZS> (accessed May 13, 2016).

42. U.S. Energy Information Administration, International Energy Statistics, <http://www.eia.gov/cfapps/ipdbproject/iedindex3.cfm?tid=91&pid=46&aid=31&cid=regions&syid=1981&eyid=2011&unit=MTCDPUSD> (accessed May 13, 2016).

43. Ibid.

44. The World Bank, CO₂ Emissions (Metric Tons per Capita), <http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/EN.ATM.CO2E.PC?page=1> (accessed May 13, 2016).

President Obama has misused the existing UNFCCC framework, treating it as a vehicle to avoid his constitutional obligation to seek advice and consent from the U.S. Senate. Indeed, the Administration's position regarding the Paris Agreement is particularly alarming for two reasons: (1) The agreement has all the hallmarks of a treaty that should be submitted to the Senate for its advice and consent under Article II, Section 2 of the U.S. Constitution; and (2) the agreement contains targets and timetables for emissions reductions and, as such, the Administration's failure to submit it to the Senate breaches a commitment made by the executive branch to the Senate in 1992 in regard to ratification of the UNFCCC.⁴⁵

In addition, on December 18, 2015, the Palestinian Authority deposited its instrument of accession to the UNFCCC. In accordance with Article 23(2) of the treaty, the Palestinians officially became the 197th party to the UNFCCC on March 17, 2016—ninety days after depositing their instrument of accession.⁴⁶ As was the case when the Palestinians joined the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) in 2011, this event should trigger a U.S. law prohibiting any future U.S. funding to the UNFCCC.⁴⁷

However, the Obama Administration has signaled its intent to continue funding based on the absurd argument that the UNFCCC is a treaty, not an international organization.⁴⁸ In fact, the UNFCCC is a treaty-based international organization, just like the United Nations and U.N. specialized agencies. The Framework Convention is the founding legal document upon which the organization and its structure are based. The organization

has an executive secretary, employs “around 500 people” according to its website, and has permanent subsidiary bodies.⁴⁹

To address these and other concerns, Congress should:

- **Insist that U.S. law prohibiting funding to international organizations that admit the Palestinian Authority as a member state is strictly observed.** The purpose of U.S. membership in international organizations is to advance American interests. When a U.N. body threatens key U.S. interests, the U.S. should send a clear signal about the ramifications of such action. Ending U.S. financial support to U.N. organizations that grant membership to the Palestinians would be an effective signal. If the U.S. ignores or otherwise weakens its own laws to allow U.S. contributions despite Palestinian membership, the U.S. would effectively encourage these organizations to admit the Palestinians as a member.
- **Zero out funding for the UNFCCC.** It is clear that the UNFCCC is an international organization affiliated with the U.N. and, therefore, U.S. funding should be barred after the Palestinian accession. Nonetheless, the Administration appears determined to provide funding. Congress should respond by providing no funding for, and barring transfer of any funds to, the UNFCCC and its related entities.
- **Prohibit funding for international climate programs.** Large wealth transfers in the name of addressing global warming, like those sought

45. Steven Groves, “Paris Climate Promise: A Bad Deal for America,” testimony before the Committee on Science, Space, & Technology, U.S. House of Representatives, February 2, 2016, <http://www.heritage.org/research/reports/2016/02/paris-climate-promise-a-bad-deal-for-america>.

46. United Nations Treaty Collection, “United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change,” https://treaties.un.org/pages/ViewDetailsIII.aspx?src=TREATY&mtdsg_no=XXVII-7&chapter=27&Temp=mtdsg3&lang=en (accessed May 13, 2016).

47. U.S. Code Title 22, Section 287e states: “The United States shall not make any voluntary or assessed contribution: (1) to any affiliated organization of the United Nations which grants full membership as a state to any organization or group that does not have the internationally recognized attributes of statehood, or (2) to the United Nations, if the United Nations grants full membership as a state in the United Nations to any organization or group that does not have the internationally recognized attributes of statehood, during any period in which such membership is effective.” (Adopted as Public Law 103-236 in 1994.) See Brett Schaefer and Steven Groves, “US Law Should Now Prohibit Funding to UN Climate Change Convention,” Daily Signal, March 24, 2016, <http://dailysignal.com/2016/03/24/us-law-should-now-prohibit-funding-to-un-climate-change-convention/>.

48. Schaefer and Groves, “US Law Should Now Prohibit Funding to UN Climate Change Convention.”

49. UNFCCC, “Who We Are,” <http://unfccc.int/secretariat/items/1629.php> (accessed May 13, 2016), and UNFCCC, “Bodies,” <http://unfccc.int/bodies/items/6241.php> (accessed May 13, 2016).

by President Obama for the Green Climate Fund, waste taxpayer money and funnel public dollars to politically connected companies. They also create artificial pressure to shift away from cheaper, more reliable conventional fuels to more expensive intermittent technologies that cannot survive without public financing. Americans and citizens around the world will pay a steep price for a government-driven transition away from conventional sources of energy.

Some actions require cooperative efforts between the legislative and executive branches. Specifically, Congress should work with the next Administration to:

- **Clarify and, to the extent possible, codify the treaty process.** Which international agreements constitute treaties requiring Senate advice and consent in accordance with Article II of the Constitution is often subject to dispute. This uncertainty is demonstrated by the debates over whether the Paris Agreement on climate change and the Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action on the Iran nuclear program constitute treaties. This uncertainty persists despite internal regulations adopted by the State Department, originally in 1955 and updated most recently in 2006, known as the Circular 175 (C-175) procedure.⁵⁰ The C-175 procedure lays out eight factors for determining whether an international agreement should be negotiated as a treaty, which is subject to Senate advice and consent, or as an international agreement other than a treaty.⁵¹ Congress should examine past practice on how various subjects have been treated historically (treaty, executive agreement, or congressional-executive agreement) and specify the issues or

context that should mandate consideration of international agreements as treaties under Article II. Once such a review is complete, Congress should then press the next Administration to update and modernize the C-175 procedure in order to restore its original role as an effective mechanism for distinguishing various forms of international commitments. Congress should also explore legislative solutions to clarifying the treaty-making process in the future.

Finally, the next Administration should:

- **Withdraw from the UNFCCC.** U.S. law should prohibit funding for the UNFCCC now that the Palestinian Authority has been allowed to accede to the treaty. Unfortunately, the organization will continue to expect the U.S. to pay its assessment regardless of legal restrictions prohibiting such payments. Thus, in addition to policy reasons for withdrawal, the U.S. should do so to avoid an accumulation of arrears and disabuse the UNFCCC of the idea that U.S. funding will resume. Article 25 of the Framework Convention says that any party can withdraw from the Convention three years after the framework has entered into force by submitting a written notice to the Depositary.⁵² The Depositary is the Secretary-General of the United Nations.⁵³ Doing so would withdraw the U.S. from any protocol to which it is a party and would enter into force one year after the Depositary receives the notification of withdraw. Withdrawal from an international organization is an executive branch power. The current Administration is committed to the UNFCCC; it will be up to the next White House to take this action.

50. U.S. Department of State, "11 FAM 723.3 Considerations for Selecting Among Constitutionally Authorized Procedures," *Foreign Affairs Manual*, Vol. 11-Political Affairs, Section 11 FAM 720, pp. 4-5, May 26, 2006, <http://www.state.gov/documents/organization/88317.pdf> (accessed May 13, 2016).

51. Specifically, the eight factors are: (1) the extent to which the agreement involves commitments or risks affecting the nation as a whole; (2) whether the agreement is intended to affect state laws; (3) whether the agreement can be given effect without the enactment of subsequent legislation by the Congress; (4) past U.S. practice as to similar agreements; (5) the preference of the Congress as to a particular type of agreement; (6) the degree of formality desired for an agreement; (7) the proposed duration of the agreement, the need for prompt conclusion of an agreement, and the desirability of concluding a routine or short-term agreement; and (8) the general international practice as to similar agreements.

52. The United Nations, "United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change," 1992, https://unfccc.int/files/essential_background/background_publications_htmlpdf/application/pdf/conveng.pdf (accessed May 13, 2016).

53. Ibid.

Conclusion

Withdrawing from the UNFCCC is a rightful admission that the widespread international approach is costly, ineffective, and unworkable. It would also avoid likely U.S. arrears to the UNFCCC in the future as current law should prohibit U.S. financial contributions to the organization after the Palestinian Authority formally acceded to the treaty in March 2016. Withdrawing from the UNFCCC will not preclude the U.S. from studying climate change, understanding the risks, and working with a smaller group of nations through informal arrangements to undertake appropriate steps. It would, however, prevent a future Administration from abusing the existing UNFCCC framework as a vehicle for asserting commitments on behalf of the U.S. in a manner that avoids Senate advice and consent in the treaty process.

—*Nicolas D. Loris is Herbert and Joyce Morgan Fellow in the Thomas A. Roe Institute for Economic Policy Studies, of the Institute for Economic Freedom and Opportunity, at The Heritage Foundation. Brett D. Schaefer is Jay Kingham Senior Research Fellow in International Regulatory Affairs in the Margaret Thatcher Center for Freedom, of the Kathryn and Shelby Cullom Davis Institute for National Security and Foreign Policy, at The Heritage Foundation. Steven Groves is Bernard and Barbara Lomas Senior Research Fellow in the Thatcher Center.*

Section 115 – how it would work:

- An EPA finding that GHGs contribute to climate change that endangers public health in a **foreign country**.
 - This is not as much of a threat under this administration, but would be under a future Obama-like administration.
- Establishment of Reciprocity or proof that two countries allow each other similar authority to regulate emissions.
 - Environmentalists argue that the Paris Agreement satisfies this element.
- Once both provisions are met, an Obama-like EPA could force states to address GHG emissions through existing implementation processes.

Final Paris Points

The 26 to 28% percent reduction commitment by the previous administration is an effective baseline for action under the Paris Agreement: The US Nationally Determined Contribution (NDC) characterized the commitments as the first step in a “long range, collective effort to transition to a low-carbon global economy as rapidly as possible.”

- The US NDC makes clear that the goal is to reach a “deep, economy-wide emission reduction of 80% or more by 2050.”
- “Ratcheting Up” Provision: Paris Agreement parties are required to submit a new commitment every five years starting in 2020 reflective of the “ratcheting up” provision that requires commitments to be more ambitious than the previous submission. There is no provision that allows for reduced commitments.

The Green Climate Fund is intimately connected to the Paris Agreement: The Paris Agreement does not explicitly refer to the GCF for one strategic reason – to avoid the U.S. Senate. Yet, the Agreement is structured to include the GCF by referencing the overarching “Convention”.

- As one international consultant firm explained in February 2016: “The reason both quantitative targets are missing from the actual Agreement is a pragmatic one – in doing so the COP has enabled the US President to adopt the Agreement as ‘sole-executive agreement’ under US law, without the requirement for the US Senate to approve.”¹
- The relationship is captured in Article 9.8 of the Agreement, which recognizes that “the Financial Mechanism of the Convention, **including its operating entities**, shall serve as the financial mechanism of this Agreement.”
- The Green Climate Fund is one of the main operating entities under the United Nations Convention on Climate Change, which is the overarching treaty ratified by US in 1992.

Paris Agreement creates legal exposure and an obligation to regulate: Staying in Paris leaves in place a mechanism by which environmentalists and Obama’s activist judges could compel the EPA to put in place a future Clean Power Plan or worse.

- Even if the US NDC commitment is reduced, it still compels regulatory action covering top greenhouse gas (GHG) emitters in this country. The Clean Power Plan was step one and covered power plants. Environmentalists hoped to use the Clean Power Plan as a template for action covering refineries, chemical plants, cement plants and every industrial sector in the U.S.
- Further, environmentalists hope to use the Paris Agreement to trigger Section 115 of the Clean Air Act. The architects of the Cap and Trade legislation that failed in Congress created a “Pitch Document” laying out their plan.
- Prior to the elections environmentalists and democrats were candid about the Paris Agreement and Section 115:

¹ Climate Focus, “Green Climate Fund and the Paris Agreement, February 2016, available at: [[HYPERLINK "http://www.climatefocus.com/sites/default/files/GCF%20and%20Paris%20Brief%202016.new_.pdf" \]](http://www.climatefocus.com/sites/default/files/GCF%20and%20Paris%20Brief%202016.new_.pdf)]

Final Paris Points

- Former Sierra Club General Counsel in June 2016: "It is the silver bullet de jour of the enviros, and they are dead serious about this."

This is not an either or situation – Getting out of Paris allows us to renegotiate a better deal: Getting out of Paris does not limit future conversations with the same international parties about a better deal or approach to climate. We will still have a seat at the table.

- The U.S. is the best in the world at balancing sound stewardship of our environment with economic growth and job creation.
- Carbon dioxide emissions are to pre-1994 levels and we lead the world in energy extraction innovations as apparent by the natural gas boom.
- Paris to Pittsburgh - Americans should not apologize for its successes, but continue to advance and share them with the rest of the world.

Message

From: Konkus, John [konkus.john@epa.gov]
Sent: 4/28/2017 12:16:20 AM
To: EPA Jahan Wilcox [jahanwilcoxepa@gmail.com]
CC: Ferguson, Lincoln [ferguson.lincoln@epa.gov]; Freire, JP [Freire.JP@epa.gov]; Bowman, Liz [Bowman.Liz@epa.gov]; Graham, Amy [graham.amy@epa.gov]; Wilcox, Jahan [wilcox.jahan@epa.gov]
Subject: Re: The First 100 Days – EPA Administrator Scott Pruitt Interview

Perfect performance.

John Konkus
Environmental Protection Agency
Deputy Associate Administrator for Public Affairs
Mobile: (202) 365-9250

On Apr 27, 2017, at 8:11 PM, EPA Jahan Wilcox <jahanwilcoxepa@gmail.com> wrote:

The First 100 Days – EPA Administrator Scott Pruitt Interview

<http://mms.tveyes.com/transcript.asp?StationID=130&DateTime=4/27/2017%207:30:32%20PM&playclip=true>

SANDRA SMITH: how now a man involved in those discussions environmental protection agency administrator scott prosecute, in fact, in fact, mr. pruit, you were in conversations with the president today any changes or any developments there?

ADMINISTRATOR SCOTT PRUITT: no, sandra. and the discussion continues. and you're right. there were discussions today at the white house with respect to this issue of paris. i think the point that needs to be made initially is that the co 2 discussion, having a see at the table, american leadership if you will on co 2 reduction. we are at pre1994 levels right now in o. n this country on co 2 footprints because of technology deployed here reduced our carbon emissions. china, russia, independent i can't, those countries across the globe have not had similar commitments. what paris represents is a front loading of cost for this country. a contraction of our own economy while those countries continue to pollute and not take steps that we have taken already.

SMITH: so is there any changes, a more moderate approach to this agreement that would, in your opinion, allow you to stay in the -- allow us to stay in the agreement and not leave it entirely?

ADMINISTRATOR PRUITT: well, the paris accord and the paris agreement one, should have been treated at as a treaty, it's something that this country, the clean power plan, the regulatory response of the past e.p.a. was in response, to the climate action plan in paris think are inextricably linked. as such we have front loaded those costs, san draft what we should be talking about is how we export innovation and technology that we have already deployed here to places like china and india to get accountability with

respect to our footprint. the clean power plan represented a 2.5 trillion-dollar reduction in gross domestic product in 10 year period. 2-million-dollar compliance. up to 400,000 jobs annually. this is something that we're doing taking steps now when we are already at pre194 levels. that's a bad business deal for this country.

SMITH: the reason i ask you if there is any more moderate approach that could be between on this while still being in it there seems to be. i'm thinking on this rex tillerson, the secretary of state who used to run exxon mobil during confirmation hearings shed we should have a seat at the table that seat can continue, san draft that's something we should do. in fact, the secretary of state and i talked about that we are a part of the un at ccc. a seat at the table.

ADMINISTRATOR PRUITT: that discussion can continue it needs to be reset and focused on america first strategy to make sure our interests are add van advanced in that international discussion and not sacrificed with respect to our economy in relation to china and india and other nations what's interesting about the green climate fund, for example, the fund that followed and was part of the paris discussion, \$100 billion of moneys to be committed by the year 2020 if we kept our current funding commitments we have already made, we would be providing almost 20% of all funding internationally, taxpayers in this country while china and india and russia pay career. that's a continuation of america last, america second type of strategy that the previous administration used on issues like this. that has to change. i appreciate the president's leadership in those areas.

SMITH: mr. pruit, we have to leave it there but thank you for coming on tonight.

ADMINISTRATOR PRUITT: thank you.

Message

From: Graham, Amy [graham.amy@epa.gov]
Sent: 5/9/2017 8:53:49 PM
To: Bowman, Liz [Bowman.Liz@epa.gov]; Wilcox, Jahan [wilcox.jahan@epa.gov]; Ferguson, Lincoln [ferguson.lincoln@epa.gov]
Subject: RE: DRAFT: Item 3 For The Paris Plan

He and I discussed – he is working on a social media search and potential columnists to pitch.

From: Bowman, Liz
Sent: Tuesday, May 9, 2017 4:51 PM
To: Wilcox, Jahan <wilcox.jahan@epa.gov>; Ferguson, Lincoln <ferguson.lincoln@epa.gov>; Graham, Amy <graham.amy@epa.gov>
Subject: RE: DRAFT: Item 3 For The Paris Plan

The only thing I would delete is the first sentence about the cancelling the meeting – I just don't know if it's necessary. We also need to bring Konkus into this somehow....I think he could be helpful, especially in social media, etc. We can get some influencers to tweet stuff about getting out of Paris and/or retweeting things.

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Sent: Tuesday, May 9, 2017 4:27 PM
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As a reminder, last year President Trump said he would "cancel" the Paris climate agreement. Since that time there has been internal discussion on this matter and EPA Administrator Scott Pruitt has been leading the charge to get us out of the agreement.

On April 14, 2017 Pruitt was the first cabinet official to say we should exit Paris. Then a few weeks later he followed that up by saying the agreement is a bad business deal for this country.

Additionally, in my opinion, the people who want to stay in Paris will never support President Trump. So the decision to stay in Paris would only appease those who will never be helpful, while angering the conservative base.

With President Trump set to make a decision later this month, curious if you'd be interested in writing that nobody is working harder to get out of the Paris Agreement, then Scott Pruitt.

RESEARCH BULLETS ...

Trump Promised Conservatives That He Would Cancel The Paris Agreement ...

Donald Trump promised if he was elected he would cancel the Paris Agreement. “He railed against ‘draconian climate rules’ and said he would ‘cancel’ the Paris climate agreement and withdraw any funding for United Nations programs related to global warming.” ([MSNBC](#), 05/26/16)

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Pruitt outlined why the Paris Agreement was bad by showing how our costs were front-loaded. “Pruitt said the U.S. “front-loaded” our costs under the Paris accord, while countries like China, Russia and India can continue to pollute and not take steps that our country already has. He noted that U.S. carbon dioxide emissions are at pre-1994 levels, thanks to innovation and technology.” ([Fox News](#), 04/27/17)

Pruitt knows that the Paris Agreement puts us a different playing field than China and India. “Pruitt also called the Paris Agreement, an international accord aimed at mitigating the impacts of climate change, ‘a bad deal.’ He said it puts the United States on a different playing field than developing countries like China and India.” ([CNBC](#), 03/09/17)

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Jahan Wilcox

EPA

Strategic Communications Advisor

Work Cell: 202.309.0934

Work Email: wilcox.jahan@epa.gov

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From: Ferguson, Lincoln [ferguson.lincoln@epa.gov]
Sent: 5/9/2017 8:52:17 PM
To: Bowman, Liz [Bowman.Liz@epa.gov]; Wilcox, Jahan [wilcox.jahan@epa.gov]; Graham, Amy [graham.amy@epa.gov]
Subject: RE: DRAFT: Item 3 For The Paris Plan

FYI –

<https://www.eenews.net/eenewspm/2017/05/09/stories/1060054297>

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Jahan Wilcox

EPA

Strategic Communications Advisor

Work Cell: 202.309.0934

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Message

From: Freire, JP [Freire.JP@epa.gov]
Sent: 5/10/2017 2:52:30 PM
To: Bowman, Liz [Bowman.Liz@epa.gov]; Graham, Amy [graham.amy@epa.gov]; Ferguson, Lincoln [ferguson.lincoln@epa.gov]; Wilcox, Jahan [wilcox.jahan@epa.gov]; Konkus, John [konkus.john@epa.gov]
Subject: Draft media plan for Paris
Attachments: 170428 - Media Plan - DRAFT.docx

Liz mentioned to me that ESP may not want to do press beyond an op-ed on Paris, and certainly he may have been given that direction and may stick to it. But in case he changes his mind, I pulled this together using the talking points we'd developed with Mandy just so we have it on hand. Liz, I think you'd mentioned having some supportive statements from outside groups, and I include some in the doc, but we can just update it.

JP

J.P. Freire
Associate Administrator for Public Affairs
Environmental Protection Agency
Mobile: (202) 309-6781

Draft Media Plan: Paris (Withdraw)

Statement: “President Trump has made good on his campaign promise: This White House is putting America first on the global stage. America has nothing to apologize for given our strong record of environmental leadership, and we will continue to find ways to lead the world in effectively managing and caring for our natural resources.”

Key theme: The President has put America first.

Television interviews: Fox & Friends (or Fox News show of the hour), Fox Business Stuart Varney, Tucker Carlson in the evening

Radio: Sean Hannity

Print Interviews:

Charlie Spiering (Breitbart News)

Ed Morrissey (HotAir)

Interview with Bret Stephens (NYT)

Interview with Jonathan Adler (Vox/Conspiracy/Washington Post)

Weekend Interview with Kim Strassel (WSJ)

Interview with George Will

Supportive comments/opeds/social media outreach focused on EPA:

American Mining Association

American Petroleum Institute

Cato

CEI

Heritage

FedSoc

Claremont

Hoover

Op-ed:

National: WSJ (JP working on draft) “From Paris to Pittsburgh”

Talking Points:

- This decision was the President’s to make, and frankly, I think it was the right one because it puts America first. This delivers on his campaign promise.
- We can’t frontload America’s costs and backload the costs for competing nations. This deal put America last.
- We can get a better deal or approach to climate without having to stay in Paris. We will still have a seat at the table. But by prioritizing America, we can ensure we commit to sound stewardship of our environment with economic growth and job creation. And, we will still punish bad actors who don’t comply with our environmental laws.
- President Trump is sending a signal to the world that is loud and clear: we are going to put America first. We have nothing to apologize for—we are the best at producing energy and jobs. We will continue to advance and share our successes with the rest of the world.

- Of course other nations loved the Paris Accord. With little upfront cost for them, they get to watch as America shuts power plants, coal mines, and wages war on fossil fuels, in effect sacrificing its own economy for what some call “global leadership.” But that’s not global leadership, that’s surrender.
- People deserve clean air, clean water, and good jobs. That’s what we need to work toward. We don’t need to sacrifice American jobs for a bad deal.

No Announcement:

- The Paris Agreement represents what is wrong with the past administration. It put America last.
- In today’s discussion, I outlined why I believe we should withdraw from Paris and the steps the U.S. could take to quickly withdraw from this bad deal.
- The Paris Agreement frontloads costs for the American people to the detriment of our economy and job growth; and it extracts meaningless commitments from top global emitters.
- To satisfy the Obama Administration’s promise to reduce U.S. greenhouse gases, Paris developed a host of domestic actions that would raise energy costs, undermine U.S. competitiveness and impede job growth. The centerpiece was the Clean Power Plan, which is projected to cost \$292 billion over ten years.
- U.S. involvement in the Paris Agreement would result in: an aggregate U.S. GDP loss of over \$2.5 trillion; nearly 400,000 jobs lost annually, including 200,000 manufacturing jobs; and, a total income loss of more than \$30,000 for a family of four.

Renegotiate:

- The Paris Agreement represents what is wrong with the past administration. It put America last.
- This is not an either-or situation – we can renegotiate a better deal. The U.S. is the best in the world at balancing sound stewardship of our environment with economic growth and job creation. Carbon dioxide emissions are to pre-1994 levels, and we lead the world in energy extraction innovations as apparent by the natural gas boom. From Paris to Pittsburgh, America should not apologize for its successes, but continue to advance and share them with the rest of the world.

Message

From: Graham, Amy [graham.amy@epa.gov]
Sent: 5/18/2017 4:29:26 PM
To: Bowman, Liz [Bowman.Liz@epa.gov]
Subject: RE: Potential op-ed

Sergio Gor, comms director

From: Bowman, Liz
Sent: Thursday, May 18, 2017 12:00 PM
To: Graham, Amy <graham.amy@epa.gov>
Subject: FW: Potential op-ed

Who did you talk to over here?

From: Vaughan, Aubrey (Paul) [mailto:Aubrey_Vaughan@paul.senate.gov]
Sent: Wednesday, May 17, 2017 2:09 PM
To: Bowman, Liz <Bowman.Liz@epa.gov>
Subject: Potential op-ed

Hi Liz,

What's your phone number? I wanted to connect you with a press person in Sen. Paul's office on an op-ed we're drafting re: Paris Agreement.

Thanks!

--

Aubrey Vaughan
Legislative Counsel
Office of Senator Rand Paul
(202) 224-6515

Message

From: Palich, Christian [palich.christian@epa.gov]
Sent: 5/26/2017 4:46:06 PM
To: Ringel, Aaron [ringel.aaron@epa.gov]; Lyons, Troy [lyons.troy@epa.gov]; Bennett, Tate [Bennett.Tate@epa.gov]; Bowman, Liz [Bowman.Liz@epa.gov]; Graham, Amy [graham.amy@epa.gov]
Subject: RE: Shimkus Op-Ed: Say Adieu to the Paris Agreement

Winner for best op ed title.

Christian R. Palich
Deputy Associate Administrator
Office of Congressional & Intergovernmental Relations
U.S Environmental Protection Agency
O: 202.564.4944
C: 202.306.4656
E: Palich.Christian@epa.gov

From: Ringel, Aaron
Sent: Friday, May 26, 2017 12:35 PM
To: Lyons, Troy <lyons.troy@epa.gov>; Bennett, Tate <Bennett.Tate@epa.gov>; Bowman, Liz <Bowman.Liz@epa.gov>; Graham, Amy <graham.amy@epa.gov>; Palich, Christian <palich.christian@epa.gov>
Subject: FW: Shimkus Op-Ed: Say Adieu to the Paris Agreement

FYI

From: Haverly, Jordan [mailto:Jordan.Haverly@mail.house.gov]
Sent: Friday, May 26, 2017 12:33 PM
Subject: Shimkus Op-Ed: Say Adieu to the Paris Agreement

Good afternoon –

Just wanted to flag the op-ed below by Congressman John Shimkus that ran in this morning's Southern Illinoisan. Please let me know if you have any questions.

Thanks, and have a great Memorial Day weekend.

Jordan

Jordan Haverly
Communications Director & Policy Adviser
Congressman John Shimkus (IL-15)
(202) 225-5271 | Cell: (217) 820-9812

SHIMKUS: Say adieu to the Paris Agreement

Like much of the previous administration's climate legacy, the Paris Agreement never had the support it would need to become the law of the land. Neither executive agreements nor executive actions are a substitute for

legislation or treaties, and neither the deal itself nor the Obama Administration's policies stemming from it were supported by the majority of Congress.

As Congress continues to work with President Donald Trump and Environmental Protection Agency Administrator Scott Pruitt to roll back those rules and regulations through a combination of legislative and administrative actions, the United States should consider exiting the Paris Agreement as well. By doing so, it would be made clear that we will not sacrifice our jobs, affordable electricity, and economic competitiveness.

The fact is, America's global leadership will not be harmed by exiting the agreement — an agreement we arguably never fully opted into in the first place. On the contrary, bidding adieu to the Paris Agreement would demonstrate to our friends and foes alike that the United States government is bound not by the wishes of one administration, but by the will of the people.

It's also time to be realistic about the agreement itself. The truth is that even if the United States stopped 100 percent of our carbon dioxide emissions tomorrow, it would make little difference in international climate projections. Former Secretary of State John Kerry even conceded, in Paris no less, that "if all the industrial nations went down to zero emissions — remember what I just said, all the industrial emissions went down to zero emissions — it wouldn't be enough" to alter global temperatures to the degree demanded by the environmental left.

My friends on the other side of this debate counter that more than 600 companies — including some of the largest multinational corporations — have urged the United States to remain in the agreement, and that staying somehow gives the U.S. more leverage in what is supposedly a voluntary deal. But there are a few holes in both those assertions.

The first is obvious. If any one of those companies wished to take actions within the scope of their business that they believe will improve the Earth's environment, nothing in the Paris Agreement or any existing U.S. law prevents them from doing so. No corporation should need permission from the federal government to reduce their emissions.

The second is less easy to see. While voluntary, national commitments made under the agreement may not be enforced by the international community, Big Green groups may attempt to seek enforcement of President Obama's promises in a U.S. court. Whether they succeed or not, the litigation would waste EPA's time and resources that would be better spent on their core, congressionally-mandated functions.

For these reasons and more, President Trump should heed his advisers urging him to leave the Paris Agreement. And Congress and the administration should continue to work together to bring the power back to the people and the states — putting the consumer first, focusing on creating good paying, American jobs, and capitalizing on our nation's energy abundance.

###

Message

From: Bennett, Tate [Bennett.Tate@epa.gov]
Sent: 5/26/2017 4:51:24 PM
To: Ringel, Aaron [ringel.aaron@epa.gov]
CC: Lyons, Troy [lyons.troy@epa.gov]; Bowman, Liz [Bowman.Liz@epa.gov]; Graham, Amy [graham.amy@epa.gov]; Palich, Christian [palich.christian@epa.gov]
Subject: Re: Shimkus Op-Ed: Say Adieu to the Paris Agreement

Thanks! Will print

On May 26, 2017, at 12:35 PM, Ringel, Aaron <ringel.aaron@epa.gov> wrote:

FYI

From: Haverly, Jordan [<mailto:Jordan.Haverly@mail.house.gov>]
Sent: Friday, May 26, 2017 12:33 PM
Subject: Shimkus Op-Ed: Say Adieu to the Paris Agreement

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###

Message

From: Greenwalt, Sarah [greenwalt.sarah@epa.gov]
Sent: 5/29/2017 8:43:09 PM
To: Jackson, Ryan [jackson.ryan@epa.gov]; Dravis, Samantha [dravis.samantha@epa.gov]; Bowman, Liz [Bowman.Liz@epa.gov]; Ferguson, Lincoln [ferguson.lincoln@epa.gov]; Gunasekara, Mandy [Gunasekara.Mandy@epa.gov]
Subject: Notes

I have underlined the portion that POTUS liked.

POTUS Phone Call re: Paris

SP:

- Got the Op-Ed note but didn't get something else he sent. (Letter from Al Gore -Targets are not enforceable).
- Example of DC focusing on things that distract from things we're doing. (He was talking about GOP officials from 14 States and they are all saying they're fired up). SP affirms: Penn and Ohio, EO Energy Independence...excitement. Missouri, 300 miners Sen Blunt, excitement was unbelievable.
- SP says he wants to be responsive to what POTUS sent over. The President's instincts are spot on. SP encourages POTUS to trust those instincts, saying: "You've hit the nail on the head. The Paris Agreement makes us seem apologetic for what we've accomplished and it puts the U.S. in a bad position. Your instincts are to exit and exit cleanly and then reset the discussion...Those are spot on."
- "The rest of the world applauded when we signed the agreement because it put the U.S. at an economic disadvantage. It creates domestic obligations that other countries refuse to do."

POTUS - Bad agreement and not fair. We put up money and no one else did. Paris Agreement is not fair... but Paris to Pittsburg might be too much. When he gets back from his trip he'd like to meet on the next Wednesday.

France will pressure him to stay in - having lunch.

SP's Response:

- For those across the world who say we're going to lose our seat at the table... We're the US--we don't lose our seat at the table. The past

administration talked a lot but this administration is DOING a lot. We're improving the environment through ACTION. We're at pre-1990s CO2 levels not because of regulation but because of innovation. That's our seat at the table. Not % reduction and the rest but through technology.

- POTUS responded to that and SP "agree[s] wholeheartedly with [POTUS's] position.
- Infrastructure - Coal generation facilities. Set goal to build in next 5 years. 90% efficient w/r/t CO2 capture. On infrastructure and the power grid we are top in the world. It's important because coal is a solid hydrocarbon you can store on site. If there is an attack on a system, natural gas doesn't make it to facility. Coal keeps things running.
- German Minister - Says Germany will get rid of all nuclear and fossil and SP says You go do that and meanwhile the U.S. will kick your tail with fuel diversity and strength in the manufacturing base to ensure stability on the grid.
- Returning to the Paris-specific discussion, SP states that it is essential that we get out because the agreement puts America second by putting us at an economic disadvantage. Even more problematic... if we stay in and renegotiate the percentage it still means that you would have to own that percentage. This is not like NAFTA and TPP; whatever percentage you choose means rulemaking out of here (EPA) to meet that obligation. We are rolling back based on and pursuant to the Energy Independence EO. Obama rolled out his entire climate action agenda to meet the Paris Accord. That's what we're rolling back. Targets still fell short, even with the Methane rule, CPP, and others to meet the Paris percentages. We will have to keep one of these rules if we negotiate a lower percentage.
- The enthusiasm that this will create will be unimaginable for the 2018 elections, things like this will make sure that there is no "enthusiasm gap."
- You don't have to go through Congress, that's just you making a decision

POTUS - "Let's get out, okay? Couple of days after I get back and we'll announce we're getting out." Problem with the French. Terminate Paris Accord because they're not treating us fairly. We won't be able to meet obligations and will lose 100s of thousands of jobs in the process.

- Don't need resolution.

- SP to check on accompanying POTUS on his trip. SP to call Joe Hagin to coordinate.
- FERC Commissioners - SP says they have to be on there before we can get it moved. Reminding POTUS that he called Johnny into the office to check on the status of those appointments. SP says he's "not sure where you are in the process."
- SP's team will talk to Hope to get something on the schedule re: Paris for an hour.

-
- Follow up from Call -

SP talked to Patrick (Joe's #2); Saudi Arabia a no-go, but potential to meet up later on.

SP's recollection: POTUS talked about the base and the "enthusiasm gap," as SP described it. France has requested time to talk to him about it while he's over there. POTUS request/action item: reach out to Hope directly (will do first thing tomorrow am). Specific instructions were that SP will draft a speech to work on with Miller post POTUS's return. He will announce that we're "terminating the agreement because it's unfair to country and too expensive." POTUS liked the characterization that this puts the U.S. at an economic disadvantage and that's why it was applauded by other countries.

Also, Rand Paul is running some Bill or Resolution terminating the agreement. He wanted SP to call Rand and tell him how much POTUS likes him. He wants all Senators behind him. Decision made to call Rand the week-of.

POTUS to SP: "You're going to write me the best speech ever."

To Research: What does the CPP represent as far as reduction? By what % did Obama say that they would cut? Because if we're supposed to cut 26% with CPP and Methane CAFE, etc. then what would CPP alone have done? If we renegotiate and set at 10% then that's still (at a minimum) CPP.

Sent from my iPad

Message

From: Gunasekara, Mandy [Gunasekara.Mandy@epa.gov]
Sent: 5/31/2017 5:09:51 PM
To: Bowman, Liz [Bowman.Liz@epa.gov]; Dravis, Samantha [dravis.samantha@epa.gov]
Subject: RE: Washington Post: The political case for and against Trump leaving the Paris climate change agreement, 5/31/17

Interesting.

From: Bowman, Liz
Sent: Wednesday, May 31, 2017 12:57 PM
To: Gunasekara, Mandy <Gunasekara.Mandy@epa.gov>; Dravis, Samantha <dravis.samantha@epa.gov>
Subject: FW: Washington Post: The political case for and against Trump leaving the Paris climate change agreement, 5/31/17

From: McGonagle, Kevin
Sent: Wednesday, May 31, 2017 12:19 PM
To: AO OPA OMR CLIPS <AO_OPA_OMR_CLIPS@epa.gov>
Subject: Washington Post: The political case for and against Trump leaving the Paris climate change agreement, 5/31/17

Washington Post

https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/the-fix/wp/2017/05/31/the-case-for-and-against-trump-leaving-the-paris-climate-change-agreement/?utm_term=.bace19511b2a

The political case for and against Trump leaving the Paris climate change agreement

By Amber Phillips 5/31/17 11:30 AM

Polls show a majority of Americans want President Trump to stay in the global Paris climate change deal.

But if he does leave it, it will be a rare moment where the president does exactly what Republicans in Congress asked him to do.

Last week, more than 20 high-profile Republican senators sent a letter to Trump urging him to back out of the deal of nearly 200 nations agreeing to significantly cut carbon emissions by 2030.

We don't know how much this letter influenced the president, who has yet to announce his decision. But we do know that his administration is split on whether to split from the Paris climate agreement, and this letter arrived just days before he's expected to make his decision.

Given all that, it's worth walking through the arguments these Senate Republicans are making about why Trump should leave the Paris climate deal — and the argument environmentalists are making about why he should stay.

Argument one for leaving the Paris agreement: You've basically already pulled out of it

With coal workers at his side, Trump signed an executive order in March that pulled the plug on a number of Obama climate-change rules, his clearest signal yet he wasn't going to enforce Obama's greenhouse-gas emission limits for power plants. Trump ordered the federal government to:

- Rewrite its rules on how much carbon power plants can emit
- Lift a moratorium on coal leasing on federal lands
- Remove the requirement that ALL federal workers consider the impact of climate change when making a decision

“The order has taken the legs out from under the Paris climate agreement that President Obama signed in his last year in office,” Sen. John Barrasso (R-Wyo.), chair of the Senate's environment committee, argued in a March Washington Times op-ed.

In their letter, senators argue that Trump would be giving mixed signals if he stays in a global agreement to cut carbon emissions while he increases limits on carbon emission back home.

What the other side says: Environmentalists acknowledge Obama's domestic commitments to lower greenhouse gas emissions are a key part of the United States' international commitments. But they don't want Trump to leave either.

Argument two: If you stay in the Paris agreement, you'll get sued. A lot.

Trump's goal appears to be to eventually unwind the Clean Power Plan, which Obama put in place in 2014 to require states to reduce carbon dioxide emissions by about one-third of 2005 levels over the next 15 years.

Republican lawmakers HATE this plan. It's filled with regulations they worry will hurt energy companies in their state, like coal workers in Senate Majority Leader Mitch McConnell's Kentucky.

But environmentalists saw the Clean Power Plan as the best way to reduce emissions in the absence of a Congress reluctant to. The political tension pretty much guarantees that as Trump rolls back greenhouse gas emission regulations, environmental groups will sue him for it. (In April, a federal court granted the Trump administration a 60-day pause on all lawsuits about the Clean Power Plan while the Trump administration reevaluates it.)

These Republican senators argue that if Trump is still in the Paris deal, environmental groups can hang their lawsuit on it. “It is clear that those advocating for greenhouse gas regulations will use the Paris Agreement as a legal defense again,” the letter reads.

What the other side says: Trump's going to get sued anyway. “Tearing the rules down require going through the same process it took to build them up,” David Doniger, director of the Natural Resources Defense Council’s climate and clean-air program, told The Washington Post in March. “We will make them face the music at every step.”

Argument three: If you stay in the agreement, China will win

The United States is one of the world's largest greenhouse-gas emitters, and its participation was expected to make up 21 percent of the emissions the Paris deal would cut, says The Post's Chris Mooney.

By comparison, China gets off easy under the Paris agreement, GOP senators argue. Barrasso in the Washington Times:

“The Paris deal imposed on the United States unrealistic targets for reducing our carbon emissions. It set America’s standards higher than for much of the world, while giving countries like China a free pass for years to come.”

What the other side says: Since signing the Paris agreement, China has stepped up its game on reducing carbon emissions, largely because its pollution is so bad it has no choice. China's appetite for coal is declining, and “both China and India look set to overachieve their Paris Agreement climate pledges,” predicted the Climate Action Tracker in [a May report](#). If China follows through on its intent to lower emissions more than it promised in Paris, it could even cancel out any increased emissions from the United States.

Kevin McGonagle
Office of Media Relations Intern
U.S. Environmental Protection Agency
Telephone: (202)-564-4524
mcgonagle.kevin@epa.gov

Message

From: McGonagle, Kevin [mcgonagle.kevin@epa.gov]
Sent: 5/25/2017 2:15:06 PM
To: Press [Press@epa.gov]
Subject: Newspaper clips 5/25/17 - attached
Attachments: WaPo_5-25-17_Clippling_warming.pdf; NYT_5-25-17_Clippling_California.pdf

There are 2 clips for today.

New York Times – 1
Washington Post – 1

Kevin McGonagle
Office of Media Relations Intern
U.S. Environmental Protection Agency
Telephone: (202)-564-4524
mcgonagle.kevin@epa.gov

Study's data challenges EPA chief on warming

BY CHRIS MOONEY

In a sign of growing tensions between scientists and the Trump administration, researchers published a scientific paper Wednesday that was conceived and written as an explicit refutation to an assertion by Environmental Protection Agency Administrator Scott Pruitt about climate change.

The study, in the *Nature* journal *Scientific Reports*, sets up a direct test of a claim by Pruitt, made in written Senate comments following his confirmation hearing, that "over the past two decades satellite data indicates there has been a leveling off of warming."

After reviewing temperature trends contained in three satellite data sets going back to 1979, the paper concludes that the data sets show a global warming trend — and that Pruitt was incorrect.

"Satellite temperature measurements do not support the claim of a 'leveling off of warming' over the past two decades," write the authors, led by Benjamin Santer of the Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory. Santer co-authored the study with three Livermore colleagues and scientists from MIT, the University of Washington in Seattle and the company Remote Sensing Systems, which keeps one of the three satellite temperature data sets.

"In my opinion, when incorrect science is elevated to the level of formal congressional testimony and makes its way into the official congressional record, climate scientists have some responsibility to test specific claims that were made, determine whether those claims are correct or not, and publish their results," Santer said in an interview when asked about the framing of the research.

The study wades into the debate over how to interpret the temperature records of the planet's lower atmosphere, or troposphere, provided by polar orbiting satellites.

Such data has often been cited by climate-change doubters suggesting that there is no global warming trend or that global warming has recently slowed down — contradicting thermometer-based measurements taken at the planet's surface which show a clear warming trend.

But the new study finds that all of the three satellite data sets — kept by Remote Sensing Systems, the Center for Satellite Applications and Research at the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration, and the University of Alabama at Huntsville — show a long-term warming trend in the middle to upper part of the troposphere.

After correcting for a cooling down of the stratosphere (the layer above the troposphere), the paper finds that the warming trend is roughly 0.36 degrees Fahrenheit per decade for the first two data sets and 0.26 de-

grees per decade for the third.

The study further examined whether any shorter temperature trend in these data sets could be described as a "leveling off," as Pruitt had put it.

The study finds warming trends for all the 20-year periods, including the "last two decades" referred to by Pruitt, although it acknowledges that the trend is somewhat lower over these later periods.

'Climate scientists have some responsibility to ... determine whether those claims are correct.'

Benjamin Santer of the Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory

The EPA did not immediately respond to a request for comment.

Thomas Karl, a longtime climate researcher who formerly headed NOAA's National Centers for Environmental Information, hailed the study as "another solid piece of work."

"Other satellite instruments, which measure temperatures closer to where we live, work and grow our food, show at least as much or more warming in recent decades," Karl said.

Gavin Schmidt, who heads the Goddard Institute for Space Studies at NASA, said by email that "the trends over the whole period are clear."

"This doesn't however imply that a) there aren't still issues with the satellite retrievals (there may well be), and b) that models did a perfect job over this time period," Schmidt cautioned.

John Christy, a researcher at the University of Alabama who keeps that data set and whose work has been often cited by climate-change skeptics, agreed there is a warming trend in the satellite data overall but said that climate models predict that it should be larger. "I wouldn't get too excited about this study," Christy said.

It is unlikely the findings of a scientific study pose a political risk to Pruitt, said Sarah Binder, a senior fellow at the Brookings Institution and a political scientist at George Washington University.

"It's significant in the sense that it shows the limits of the confirmation process, especially when the president's party controls the Senate and senators can no longer filibuster nominees," Binder said. "In other words, it's possible to float factually inaccurate statements and yet not ding your chances of confirmation."

chris.mooney@washpost.com

More at [washingtonpost.com/news/energy-environment](https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/energy-environment/)

Washington Post
National
p. A16

Fighting Trump on Climate, California Becomes a Global Force

By CORAL DAVENPORT
and ADAM NAGOURNEY

LOS ANGELES — The environmental ministers of Canada and Mexico went to San Francisco last month to sign a global pact — drafted largely by California — to lower planet-warming greenhouse pollution. Gov. Jerry Brown flies to China next month to meet

with climate leaders there on a campaign to curb global warming. And a battery of state lawyers is preparing to battle any attempt by Washington to weaken California's automobile pollution emission standards.

As President Trump moves to reverse the Obama administration's policies on climate change, California is emerging as the nation's de facto negotiator with the

RUNAWAY STATE

Emissions Resistance

world on the environment. The state is pushing back on everything from White House efforts to roll back pollution rules on tailpipes and smokestacks, to plans to withdraw or weaken the United States' commitments un-

der the Paris climate change accord.

In the process, California is not only fighting to protect its legacy of sweeping environmental protection, but also holding itself out as a model to other states — and to nations — on how to fight climate change.

"I want to do everything we can to keep America on track, keep the

Continued on Page A14

New York Times | National | pp. A1, A14

Fighting Trump, and Becoming a Global Force on Climate

From Page A1

world on track, and lead in all the ways California has," said Mr. Brown, who has embraced this fight as he enters what is likely to be the final stretch of a 40-year career in California government. "We're looking to do everything we can to advance our program, regardless of whatever happens in Washington."

Since the election, California has stood as the leading edge of the Democratic resistance to the Trump administration, on a range of issues including immigration and health care. Mr. Trump lost to Hillary Clinton here by nearly four million votes. Every statewide elected official is a Democrat, and the party controls both houses of the Legislature by a two-thirds margin. Soon after Mr. Trump was elected, Democratic legislative leaders hired Eric H. Holder Jr., the former attorney general, to represent California in legal fights with the administration.

But of all the battles it is waging with Washington, none have the global implications of the one over climate change.

The aggressive posture on the environment has set the stage for a confrontation between the Trump administration and the largest state in the nation. California has 39 million people, making it more populous than Canada and many other countries. And with an annual economic output of \$2.4 trillion, the state is an economic powerhouse and has the sixth-largest economy in the world.

California's efforts cross party lines. Arnold Schwarzenegger, who served as governor from 2003 to 2011, and led the state in developing the most aggressive pollution-control programs in the nation, has emerged as one of Mr. Trump's biggest Republican critics.

Mr. Trump and his advisers appear ready for the fight.

Scott Pruitt, the Environmental Pro-



MELISSA LYTTLE FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

New York Times | National | pp. A1, A14

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Mr. Trump and his advisers appear ready for the fight.

Scott Pruitt, the Environmental Protection Agency chief, whom Mr. Trump has charged with rolling back Obama-era environmental policies, speaks often of his belief in the importance of federalism and states' rights, describing Mr. Trump's proposals as a way to lift the oppressive yoke of federal regulations and return authority to the states. But of Mr. Brown's push to expand California's environmental policies to the country and the world, Mr. Pruitt said, "That's not federalism — that's a political agenda hiding behind federalism."

"Is it federalism to impose your policy on other states?" Mr. Pruitt asked in a recent interview in his office. "It seems to me that Mr. Brown is being the aggressor here," he said. "But we expect the law will show this."

In one of his earliest strikes, Mr. Trump signed an executive order aimed at dismantling the Clean Power Plan, President Barack Obama's signature climate policy change. Much of the plan, which Mr. Trump denounced as a "job killer," was drawn from environmental policies pioneered in California.

Mr. Brown has long been an environmental advocate, including when he first served as governor in the 1970s. He has made this a central focus as he enters his final 18 months in office. In an interview, he said the president's action was "a colossal mistake and defies science."

"Erasing climate change may take place in Donald Trump's mind, but nowhere else," Mr. Brown said.

The leadership role embraced by California goes to the heart of what has long been a central part of its identity. For more than three decades, California has been at the vanguard of environmental policy, passing ambitious, first-in-the-nation measures on pollution control and conservation that have often served as models for national and even international environmental law.

"With Trump indicating that he will withdraw from climate change leadership, the rest of the global community is looking to California, as one of the world's largest economies, to take the lead," said Mario Molina, a Nobel Prize-winning scientist from Mexico who advises nations on climate change policy. "California demonstrates to the world

Above, a Los Angeles highway interchange. Under a waiver issued by President Richard M. Nixon, California can set fuel economy standards exceeding federal requirements. That has helped curb smog, as seen at right in Los Angeles in 1958. Below, Gov. Jerry Brown attended a United Nations climate meeting last year.



MARY ALPERT/ASSOCIATED PRESS

"We're very concerned about that," said Robert C. Lapsley, the president of the California Business Roundtable. "If we are 1 percent of the problem, and we have the most far-reaching climate policies on the planet while all the other states are slowing down because Washington is slowing down, that is going to create an absolute imbalance."

"Washington will create a less competitive environment for California businesses here because businesses in other states will not have to meet the same mandates," he added. "There is no question that businesses are going to move out."

The precise contours of this battle will become clear in the months ahead, as Mr. Trump's environmental policies take shape. For now, the critical questions are whether the United States will withdraw from the Paris agreement, an international compact to reduce greenhouse

spread of electric cars. As they stand, the rules would force automakers to build fleets of cars that would reach 54.5 miles per gallon by 2025.

California is preparing for a legal challenge. "You have to be concerned when anybody talks about going backward," said Xavier Becerra, the state attorney general. "In this case we think we have a strong case to be made based on the facts and the history."

Mr. Trump is already moving to weaken federal auto emission standards that were influenced by California's tougher standards. Automakers, who met with the president in the Oval Office days after he assumed the presidency, have long complained that the standards forced them to build expensive electric vehicles that consumers may not want.

And the companies have lobbied for years to stop the federal government from allowing California to set cleaner

fort to roll back the California waiver.

"Because we're such a big part of the car market, and places like New York and Massachusetts are tied in with the U.S., our standard will prevail," he said.

Beyond pushing to maintain its state climate laws, California has tried to forge international climate pacts. In particular, Mr. Brown's government helped draft and gather signatures for a memorandum of understanding whose signers, including heads of state and mayors from

Tough rules that have stirred concern among business leaders.



BETTMANN/GETTY IMAGES

places a statewide cap on planet-warming carbon dioxide emissions, and then allows companies to buy and sell pollution credits. The California measure was the model for a national climate law that Mr. Obama tried unsuccessfully to have passed in 2010.

Given the setbacks in Washington, California environmental officials are working with Mexico and Canada to create what is informally called the "Nafta" of climate change — a carbon-cutting program that spans the region.

"Canada's all in when it comes to climate action, and we'll partner with anyone who wants to move forward," said Catherine McKenna, Canada's environment minister.

Already, California's cap-and-trade market is connected to a similar one in Quebec, now valued at about \$8 billion, and the Province of Ontario is linking with the joint California-Quebec market

withdraw from climate change leadership, the rest of the global community is looking to California, as one of the world's largest economies, to take the lead," said Mario Molina, a Nobel Prize-winning scientist from Mexico who advises nations on climate change policy. "California demonstrates to the world that you can have a strong climate policy without hurting your economy."

The Senate leader, Kevin de Leon, introduced legislation this month that would accelerate, rather than retrench, California's drive to reduce emissions, requiring that 100 percent of retail electricity in the state come from renewable sources by 2045. Mr. de Leon said it was "important that we send a signal to the rest of the world" at a time of what he described as "blowback" from Washington.

Mr. Schwarzenegger, who tangled with Mr. Trump after the president mocked him for receiving low ratings as his replacement on "The Apprentice," described Mr. Trump's environmental policies as a threat to the planet.

"Saying you'll bring coal plants back is the past," Mr. Schwarzenegger said. "It's like saying you'll bring Blockbuster back, which is the past. Horses and buggies, which is the past. Pagers back, which is the past."

He said California had shown it could adopt aggressive environmental policies without hurting the economy. "We're outdoing the rest of the country on G.D.P.," Mr. Schwarzenegger said.

Even before Mr. Trump took office, California's tough regulatory rules had stirred concern among business leaders, who said it had increased their costs. They warned that the situation would become worse if California stood by its regulatory rules while Washington moved in the other direction.

Runaway State

Articles in this series examine California's leading role in countering the Trump administration.

ONLINE: Photos and reader comments:

[nytimes.com/us](https://www.nytimes.com/us)

out."

The precise contours of this battle will become clear in the months ahead, as Mr. Trump's environmental policies take shape. For now, the critical questions are whether the United States will withdraw from the Paris agreement, an international compact to reduce greenhouse pollution, and whether the Environmental Protection Agency will revoke a waiver issued by President Richard M. Nixon that permits California to set fuel economy standards exceeding federal requirements.

Revoking the waiver, which was central to a policy that has resulted in noticeably cleaner air in places like Los Angeles, would force the state to lower its tough fuel economy standards, which are also intended to promote the rapid

the president in the Oval Office days after he assumed the presidency, have long complained that the standards forced them to build expensive electric vehicles that consumers may not want.

And the companies have lobbied for years to stop the federal government from allowing California to set cleaner tailpipe regulations than the rest of the nation, arguing that the double standard necessitates building two types of cars. In Detroit, those companies see President Trump as their best chance for finally ending onerous California car requirements. But in the meantime, over a dozen other states have adopted California's auto emissions standards — and Mr. Brown is betting that the sheer size of that market will be enough to make the Trump administration reconsider any ef-

Tough rules that have stirred concern among business leaders.

around the world, pledged to take actions to lower emissions enough to keep global temperatures from rising over two degrees Celsius. That is the point at which scientists say the planet will tip into a future of irreversible rising seas and melting ice sheets.

That pact is voluntary, but California, Canada and Mexico are starting to carry out a joint policy with some teeth.

California's signature climate change law is the cap-and-trade program. It

one who wants to move forward," said Catherine McKenna, Canada's environment minister.

Already, California's cap-and-trade market is connected to a similar one in Quebec, now valued at about \$8 billion, and the Province of Ontario is linking with the joint California-Quebec market this year. Climate policy experts in Sacramento and Mexico City are in the early stages of drafting a plan to link Mexico with that joint market.

In April, a delegation from California traveled to Beijing to meet with Chinese counterparts to help them craft a cap-and-trade plan. "We have people working in China, in their regulatory agencies, consulting with them, speaking fluent Mandarin, working with the Chinese government — giving them advice on cap and trade," Mr. Brown said.

The Clean Power Plan was central to the United States' pledge under the 2015 Paris agreement, which commits the nation to cut its emissions about 26 percent from 2005 levels by 2025. Now that Mr. Trump has moved to roll back the plan, it will be almost impossible for the United States to meet its Paris commitments.

That has resonated powerfully in China. The heart of the Paris agreement was a 2014 deal forged by Mr. Obama and President Xi Jinping of China in which the world's two largest economies and largest greenhouse polluters agreed to act jointly to reduce their emissions.

"China is committed to establishing a cap-and-trade this year, and we are looking for expertise across the world as we design our program — and we are looking closely at the California experience," said Dongquan He, a vice president of Energy Foundation China, an organization that works with the Chinese government on climate change issues.

Mr. Brown recently met with the prime minister of Fiji, who will serve as chairman of this fall's United Nations climate change meeting in Bonn, Germany, which aims to put the Paris agreement in force, with or without the United States. The governor said he planned to attend as a representative of his state.

"We may not represent Washington, but we will represent the wide swath of American people who will keep the faith on this," he said.



An oil refinery near homes in Los Angeles. California's cap-and-trade program restricts carbon dioxide emissions.

Message

From: McGonagle, Kevin [mcgonagle.kevin@epa.gov]
Sent: 5/30/2017 2:19:53 PM
To: Press [Press@epa.gov]
Subject: Newspaper clips 5/30/17 - attached
Attachments: WSJ_5-30-17_Clippling_Op-Ed.pdf; WaPo_5-30-17_Clippling_Op-Ed.pdf

There are 2 clips for today.

Wall Street Journal – 1
Washington Post – 1

Kevin McGonagle
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The 'Business Case' for Paris Is Bunk

By Cliff Forrest

As President Trump weighs whether to withdraw from the Paris Agreement on climate change, some have tried to present a "business case" for why the U.S. should stay in. An economic windfall would come with the early and aggressive investment in alternative energy that the accord mandates, or so the argument goes. The Paris Agreement's backers have told a very incomplete story and reached the wrong conclusion.

The economic merits of the Paris Agreement take on a different air when more fully considered. Climate-change advocates' bizarre premise is that economic gains will come from restricting access to the most abundant, reliable and affordable fuel sources. Never mind that this defies the experience of many European nations that have invested heavily in renewable energy. After "Germany's aggressive and reckless expansion of

wind and solar," for example, the magazine *Der Spiegel* declared in 2013 that electricity had become "a luxury good." Apparently this time will be different.

There are a few interesting hypocrisies to consider as well. The commercial interests that strongly support the Paris Agreement typically

The climate accord is a boon—yet pulling out would be unfair?

have created programs to exploit, game or merely pass through the costs of the climate-change agenda. Many also maintain a green pose for marketing purposes. The classic example of this rent-seeking behavior was Enron, which in 1996 purchased Zond Energy Systems (now GE Wind) to complement its gas pipeline. Enron then set about lobbying its way to green-energy riches. It seems that Paris

backers hope for a sudden public amnesia about the many businesses that use government to push out smaller competitors.

Green companies also argue that, beyond economic benefits, their ability to slow climate change helps contribute to the public good. To my knowledge, none declare a measurable impact on climate from their businesses or their desired policies.

Mr. Trump should keep in mind that the people calling for him to stick with the Paris Agreement largely did not support him during the campaign. Few would like to see him succeed now. As for his strongest supporters, they're the ones who will take the hit if he breaks his promise to withdraw.

Some countries have threatened to punish the U.S. if it pulls out of the accord. Rodolfo Lacy Tamayo, Mexico's undersecretary for environmental policy and planning, said in an interview with the *New York Times*: "A carbon

tariff against the United States is an option for us." Countries imposing costs on their own industries through the Paris Agreement complain that they are at a disadvantage if the U.S. doesn't do the same. Apparently they didn't receive the talking points describing green energy as an economic boon for everyone involved.

So which is it? Does the Paris Agreement spur a U.S. economy otherwise unprepared to succeed in the 21st century? Or is the U.S. maintaining economic advantage by not subjecting itself to the accord's arduous requirements?

Mr. Trump's obligation is to do what is in America's best interest. Rejecting a confused and costly international agreement, with questionable benefits to climate, should be a slam dunk. Don't take my word for it: Just study the other side's arguments.

Mr. Forrest is CEO of Rosebud Mining.

Homegrown climate initiatives

Carbon-pricing plans in the District and Virginia fill some of the blank space left by the Trump administration.

STATES AND cities cannot prevent the Trump administration from doing damage on climate change policy, but they can mitigate the harm through global warming policies of their own.

Thankfully, many are doing so, showing by example that fighting climate change does not have to come at an intolerable cost. Recently announced climate initiatives in Virginia and the District offer a sense of how that is done.

Some of the most common greenhouse-gas emissions policies are really second- or third-best approaches. States and cities that directly subsidize renewables or require certain amounts of their electricity to come from particular sources unnecessarily close off other options that could be cheaper and just as effective. The best policies keep any and all emissions-cutting pathways open, enabling the least costly ones.

Economists have known how to do this for decades: Put a steadily rising price on carbon emissions. Consumers and businesses would respond over time

by wasting less energy and favoring low-carbon products and services. Private economic activity would naturally sort out how much to rely on renewables, energy efficiency and other emissions-cutting measures, maximizing freedom, minimizing costs and cutting greenhouse gases.

Virginia Gov. Terry McAuliffe (D) embraced this approach, announcing this month that his administration will seek to price the state's emissions by placing a cap on them and demanding that utilities turn in permits in order to emit greenhouse gases under that cap. The permits would be buyable and sellable, creating an effective price on carbon pollution. Better yet, the governor would seek to link Virginia's program with carbon-trading markets in other states, creating a larger and more efficient market for permits.

In the District, meanwhile, local environmental activists have united around a plan to tax carbon emissions, starting at \$20 per ton in 2019 and rising to \$150 per ton in 2032, by which point the activists

estimate the policy would have cut the city's carbon emissions by 23 percent.

The primary objection to such plans is that they are regressive, hitting the poor harder than the rich, to whom the carbon price would feel relatively modest. Both plans have provisions offsetting this effect, with the District's being particularly well thought out. Most of the money it would raise would be rebated directly back to residents. All but the wealthiest households would be made whole or better.

Neither plan is perfect. By necessity, Mr. McAuliffe is seeking to impose his cap-and-trade program over the head of the legislature, when it could be more cleanly designed if the General Assembly would buy in. The District's plan would divert some of the money it raised to a green infrastructure fund that could well be spent on pet projects rather than effective climate initiatives.

But pricing carbon is the right approach. Other states should embrace the concept. The more that do, the more effective the policy will be.

Washington Post | Op-Ed | p. A16

Message

From: McGonagle, Kevin [mcgonagle.kevin@epa.gov]
Sent: 6/1/2017 3:15:50 PM
To: Press [Press@epa.gov]
Subject: Newspaper clips 6/1/17 - attached
Attachments: NYT_6-1-17_Clippling_OpEd.pdf; NYT_6-1-17_Clippling_Paris.pdf; NYT_6-1-17_Clippling_climatedeal.pdf; WaPo_6-1-17_Clippling_paris.pdf; WSJ_6-1-17_Clippling_Opinion.pdf; WSJ_6-1-17_Clippling_Paris.pdf

There are 6 clips for today.

New York Times – 3
Wall Street Journal – 2
Washington Post – 1

Kevin McGonagle
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mcgonagle.kevin@epa.gov

Endangered Children

Frederica Perera

UNTIL a few decades ago, the popular but falsely reassuring belief was that babies in the womb were perfectly protected by the placenta and that children were just "little adults," requiring no special protections from environmental threats. We now know that a host of chemicals, pollutants and viruses readily travel across the placenta from mother to fetus, pre-polluting or pre-infecting a baby even before birth.

Toxic chemicals like lead, certain air pollutants, pesticides, synthetic chemicals and infectious agents like Zika can derail the intricate molecular processes involved in a fetus's healthy brain development. So can physical and social stress experienced by the mother.

At a time when we should be spending more on research and prevention of those threats, President Trump would do the opposite. He would cut the budget of the Environmental Protection Agency by 31 percent, including cuts to scientific work on chemical safety. He would slash money for biomedical research and programs to fight outbreaks of infectious disease. We need more spending in those areas, not less. We need more testing of chemicals before they are marketed, not less.

Toxic exposures are shockingly prevalent. Analysis of biomonitoring data from the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention finds dozens of toxic chemicals, pollutants and metals in pregnant women, many of which are also found in cord blood of newborns. These include pesticides sprayed in inner-city buildings and on crops, flame retardants used in furniture, combustion-related air pollutants from

Toxic exposures are shockingly prevalent.

fossil-fuel-burning power plants and vehicles, lead, mercury and plasticizers. All have been shown in epidemiologic studies in the United States and elsewhere to be capable of damaging developing brains, especially while babies are exposed in utero or in their early life.

This is why it was particularly distressing that the new head of the E.P.A., Scott Pruitt, recently rejected the scientific conclusion of the agency's own experts, who had recommended banning one of the nation's most widely used insecticides, chlorpyrifos. The experts made their judgment on the basis of many years of research indicating that chlorpyrifos was linked to significant harm to children, including diminished cognitive ability.

Research has also conclusively shown that climate change, caused in large part by carbon dioxide emitted by burning coal and other fossil fuels, is linked to more heat-related disease, malnutrition, infectious disease, trauma and mental health problems from extreme natural disasters like flooding. Those consequences can directly or indirectly affect early brain development, the cognitive and behavioral functioning of children and their ability to learn.

And yet Mr. Trump, as of Wednesday, was considering pulling the United States out of the Paris Climate Accord and also wants to abandon his predecessor's Clean Power

Plan to cut carbon emissions from power plants.

So uniquely vulnerable are the young that the World Health Organization estimates that children younger than 5 bear more than 40 percent of the global burden of disease caused by environmental risk factors and 88 percent of the disease burden caused by climate change. A notable increase in developmental problems in children worldwide has paralleled the proliferation of synthetic chemicals in our air, water, food and consumer products and the mounting impacts of climate change. About one in six children in the United States is affected by a developmental disability. These are complex disorders with multiple causes — genetic, social and environmental — often interacting with one another to increase risk.

All the world's children are potentially exposed and at risk, at a great price to society. The estimated medical and/or economic costs of I.Q. loss and behavioral disorders attributable to just a few environmental toxicants indicate the enormous benefits of prevention: approximately \$56 billion in 2008 for lead poisoning and prenatal mercury exposure in the United States; 146 billion euros (about \$164 billion)

each year attributed to prenatal organophosphate pesticide exposure in the European Union. The economic costs of toxic air

pollutants and climate change from combustion of coal, oil and other fossil fuels amount to many billions of dollars a year in the United States.

Worldwide, according to the W.H.O., about three million deaths a year are linked to ambient air pollution; by 2030 the global health cost of a few climate-related diseases that disproportionately affect children (diarrhea, malnutrition, malaria and heat stress) will be as high as \$4 billion a year.

Such tragic and costly consequences are preventable. The benefits of policies to reduce toxic exposures have been clearly demonstrated.

Lead levels in children's blood dropped in the late 1970s following legislation aimed at reducing or eliminating lead in house paint and gasoline. Concentrations of a neurotoxic

residential-use pesticide dropped sharply in cord blood after the E.P.A. prohibited its use in 2001. In California, levels of various toxic flame retardants in the blood of pregnant woman and in breast milk fell since the state ban on those chemicals took effect in 2006. And in New York City, we saw a decline in harmful pollutants measured in air samples from personal monitors worn by pregnant women as clean air policies were enacted beginning two decades ago.

But as we saw with the tragic lead poisonings of children in Flint, Mich., much more needs to be done.

The problem is deep and systemic, resulting from lack of adequate government regulation requiring testing of chemicals before they are marketed, and from the failure to take prompt action once there is scientific evidence of harm. The E.P.A. must be able to act promptly to eliminate known brain-damaging chemicals and ensure that new chemicals or chemicals proposed for a new use undergo thorough testing before manufacturing.

With respect to climate change, federal policies and rules that promote clean energy, restrict climate-altering emissions from power plants, vehicles, industrial processes, and natural gas production and support the Paris Climate Accord are essential. They must not be weakened.

Our children's health and future depend on it.□

FREDERICA PERERA is a professor at Columbia's Mailman School of Public Health and director of the Columbia Center for Children's Environmental Health.

New York Times
Op-Ed
p. A23

World's Unity On Warming Pivots on U.S.

Exit From Paris Deal Could Hurt the Poor

By JUSTIN GILLIS

The United States, with its love of big cars, big houses and blasting air-conditioners, has contributed more than any other country to the atmospheric carbon dioxide that is scorching the planet.

"In cumulative terms, we certainly own this problem more than anybody else does," said David G. Victor, a longtime scholar of climate politics at the University of California, San Diego. Many argue that this obligates the United States to take ambitious action to slow global warming.

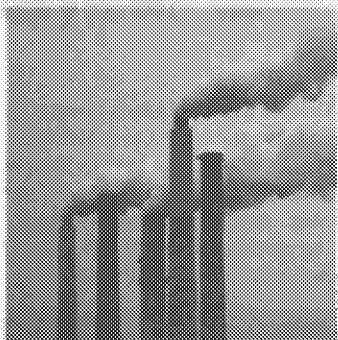
Against that backdrop, factions in the Trump administration are engaged in a heated debate over whether to remain a party to the 195-nation agreement on climate change reached in Paris in 2015. President Trump said on Wednesday that he would resolve the dispute on Thursday.

A decision to walk away from the accord would be a momentous setback, in practical and political terms, for the effort to address climate change.

The administration has already made it clear that it does not intend to abide by the promises President Barack Obama made when he joined the accord, largely leaving it to other countries to deal with the challenge.

An American exit could prompt other countries to withdraw from the pact or rethink their emissions pledges, making it much harder to achieve the agreement's already difficult goal of limiting global warming to a manageable level. It would call into question the United Nations-sponsored mechanism for bringing nearly 200 countries together to address a common threat. It would tell allies and adversaries alike that for Mr. Trump, everything is on the table and under negotiation.

Continued on Page A8



LIAZ SHARRETT FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Many in the coal industry call for an exit from the Paris pact.

New York Times
International
pp. A1, A8

The United States Has Emitted More CO₂ Than Any Other Country

The World's Unity On Global Warming Pivots on the U.S.

From Page A1

It also means the United States — the country with the largest, most dynamic economy in the world — will give up a leadership role when it comes to finding solutions for climate change.

"It is immoral," said Mohamed Adow, who grew up herding livestock in Kenya and now works in London as a leader on climate issues for Christian Aid, a relief and development group. "The countries that have done the least to cause the problem are suffering first and worst."

Some backers of the agreement argue that the large American role in causing climate change creates an outside responsibility to help fight it, including an obligation to send billions of dollars abroad to help people in poorer countries.

The Obama administration pledged \$3 billion to an international fund meant to aid the hardest-hit countries. Only \$1 billion of that had been transferred to the fund by the time Mr. Trump took office. He wants to walk away from the balance of the commitment, although Congress may have the last word.

Mr. Trump, his Environmental Protection Agency administrator, Scott Pruitt, and Stephen K. Bannon, a top White House adviser, argue that meeting the terms of the Paris accord will strangle the American economy and lead to major job losses. Many in the manufacturing and fossil fuel industries also want the United States to leave the pact, but corporate opinion is

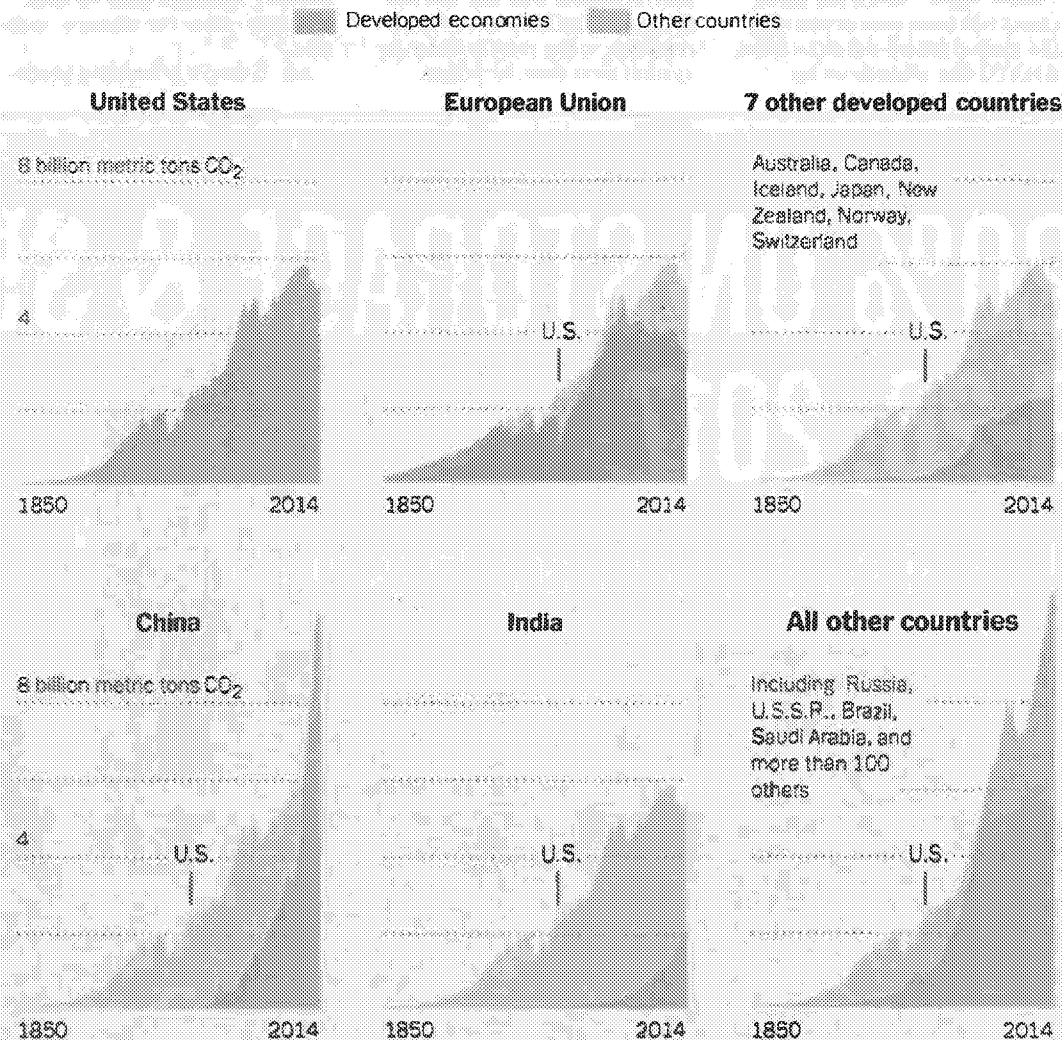
deeply split. Exiting the Paris deal was a central Trump campaign pledge.

While the United States is historically responsible for more emissions than any other country, it is no longer the world's largest single emitter of greenhouse gases. China surpassed the United States a decade ago, and its emissions today are about double the American figure. Some of China's emissions are from the production of goods for the United States and other rich countries.

But the United States has been burning coal, oil and natural gas far longer, and today the country, with just over 4 percent of the world's population, is responsible for almost a third of the excess carbon dioxide that is heating the planet. China is responsible for less than a sixth. The 28 countries of the European Union, taken as a group, come in just behind the United States in historical emissions.

China has four times as many people as the United States, so the Chinese still burn far less fossil fuel on average than Americans — less than half as much, in fact. Americans also burn roughly twice as much as the average European or Japanese citizen, and 10 times as much as the average Indian.

The Trump administration made clear months ago that it would abandon the emissions targets set by Mr. Obama, walk away from pledges of money to help poor countries battle global warming, and seek to cut research budgets aimed at finding solutions to climate change.



Total CO₂ emissions include fossil fuels and cement production, but not land use and forestry. Emissions for the European Union include Britain.

Sources: Carbon Dioxide Information Analysis Center, Oak Ridge National Laboratory; United Nations

NADJA POPOVICH/THE NEW YORK TIMES

Experts say the climate crisis has become so acute that every country has to pitch in to help solve it, with no room for emissions in developing countries to reach the high levels that have been typical of rich countries.

One of the political breakthroughs that led to the Paris agreement was that the nations of the world came to grips with

that reality, and all agreed to do what they could to help solve the problem. The agreement recognized that the poorest countries could not afford to do much on their own, which is why they were promised extensive cash and technical help.

Mr. Trump and many of his appointees have been influenced by climate change denialists in

the United States, a movement with considerable political clout in the Republican Party.

In their writings, the leaders of this movement often contend that the best way to help poor countries would be to let them develop economically by burning fossil fuels.

"A clean, healthful, beautiful environment is a costly good," E.

Calvin Beisner, a spokesman for the Cornwall Alliance for the Stewardship of Creation, an evangelical group, said at a recent climate change denial conference in Washington. "And like any costly good, richer people can afford more than poorer people."

Energy experts counter that poorer countries may be able to develop their economies without depending entirely on fossil fuels, with new technologies like renewable power and electric cars plunging in cost and opening the possibility of an enormous cleanup of the world's energy system.

"Nobody really wants barrels of oil or tons of coal," said John D. Sterman, a professor of management at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and a founder of a think tank called Climate Interactive. "They need a warm, dry, safe place to live, and access to healthy food, and lighting when it's dark."

If it turns out that those goods can really be provided with clean energy, that may be the economic opportunity of the 21st century — and increasingly, countries like China and India seem to see things that way. Recent analyses by Climate Action Tracker, an alliance of European think tanks, suggest that both countries are on track to beat the targets they set in the Paris Agreement, even as the United States backs away.

The New York Times asked Climate Interactive to calculate when Americans would have run out of fossil fuel if the nation's citizens had somehow, at the beginning of the industrial era, been allocated a share equal to those of the rest of the world's people. The calculation was premised on limiting emissions enough to meet international climate goals.

The answer: Americans would have used up their quota in 1944, the year the Allied armies stormed the beaches of Normandy.

The Climate Deal, and What a U.S. Departure Would Mean

By BRAD PLUMER

President Trump is said to be considering withdrawing the United States from the Paris climate agreement, a landmark accord reached in 2015 between 195 countries that seeks to avoid some of the worst effects of climate change by curbing global greenhouse gas emissions.

The White House says it has not yet reached a final decision on Paris, and hundreds of corporations and world leaders are lobbying the United States to stay in the pact. Within the administration, some senior officials, including Secretary of State Rex W. Tillerson, have warned the president that the diplomatic repercussions from leaving could be severe.

An American withdrawal would not scuttle the Paris accord, but it could seriously weaken global efforts to avoid drastic climate change. Here's a primer on how the Paris agreement works — and what could happen if the United States leaves.

What does the Paris climate deal actually do?

Under the Paris agreement, every country submitted an individual plan to tackle its greenhouse gas emissions and then agreed to meet regularly to review their progress and prod one another to ratchet up their efforts as the years went by.

Unlike its predecessor treaty, the Kyoto Protocol, the Paris deal was intended to be nonbinding, so that countries could tailor their climate plans to their domestic situations and alter them as circumstances changed. There are no penalties for falling short of declared targets. The hope was that, through peer pressure and diplomacy, these policies would be strengthened over time.

Under the deal, the Obama administration pledged to cut domestic greenhouse gas emissions



LUKE SHARRETT/BLOOMBERG

An oil refinery in Marcus Hook, Pa. Even if the United States withdraws from the climate agreement, individual states could continue to pursue environmental goals.

penalties for failing short of declared targets. The hope was that, through peer pressure and diplomacy, these policies would be strengthened over time.

Under the deal, the Obama administration pledged to cut domestic greenhouse gas emissions 26 to 28 percent below 2005 levels by 2025 as well as to commit up to \$3 billion in aid for poorer countries by 2020. (The United States has delivered \$1 billion to date.) China vowed that its emissions would peak around 2030 and that it would get about 20 percent of its electricity from carbon-free sources by then. India would continue to reduce its carbon intensity, or CO₂ output per unit of economic activity, in line with historical levels.

While the current pledges would not prevent global temperatures from rising more than 2 degrees Celsius above preindustrial levels, the threshold deemed unacceptably risky, there is some evidence that the Paris deal's "soft diplomacy" is nudging countries toward greater action. A recent study from the Grantham Research Institute found that the mere existence of the accord had prodded dozens of countries to enact new clean-energy laws.

How would the United States withdraw from Paris?

Because the deal is nonbinding,



LUKE SHARRETT/BLOOMBERG

An oil refinery in Marcus Hook, Pa. Even if the United States withdraws from the climate agreement, individual states could continue to pursue environmental goals.

there are no penalties if the United States pulls out.

The Trump administration can invoke the accord's formal withdrawal mechanism, which takes four years — though American officials could stop participating in any future climate talks immediately. A future administration could, if it chose, rejoin.

More radically, the Trump administration could withdraw from the underlying United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change, signaling a withdrawal from all United Nations-sponsored climate discussions. It is not yet clear which option the Trump administration would choose, if it decides to leave.

If the United States does leave, it will join Syria and Nicaragua as the only two countries not participating in the accord.

The United States could also face serious diplomatic repercussions for leaving. Europe, China and other countries may threaten to withhold cooperation on issues the Trump administration cares about. In a more

extreme case, other countries could decide to impose carbon tariffs on the United States.

What would withdrawal mean for American climate efforts?

Whether or not the United States leaves Paris, the Trump administration will keep trying to dismantle the Obama administration's domestic climate policies, including the Clean Power Plan to curtail emissions from power plants, and various regulations on methane leaks from oil and gas operations. Those rollbacks are still far from assured, however, and environmentalists plan to challenge them in court.

Pulling out of Paris would not mean the end of all domestic efforts to reduce emissions. States like California and New York plan to keep pursuing their own programs to clean up power plants and vehicles. And the private sector is already shifting toward cleaner energy: Cheap natural gas and renewables will continue to drive the retirement of coal plants.

But the United States would be

doing far less about global warming than it otherwise might have done. A recent analysis by the Rhodium Group estimated that, under Mr. Trump's policies, United States emissions will now most likely fall 15 to 19 percent below 2005 levels by 2025, rather than the 26 to 28 percent that the Obama administration pledged.

How would other nations react?

Withdrawal by the United States could seriously undermine global efforts to tackle global warming — but much will depend on how other countries react.

Leaders in Europe, China and India have insisted that they would carry on tackling global warming without the United States. But the precise shape of future climate talks remains an open question.

One possibility is that, with the world's second-largest emitter pulling out, other countries might feel inclined to relax their own plans to curb greenhouse gases. "Even in places like Europe, you have industry groups worried about competitiveness," said Da-

vid G. Victor, a professor of international relations at the University of California, San Diego. An American withdrawal, he notes, "makes the politics in other countries that much harder."

Developing countries like India, Indonesia and the Philippines might be more reluctant to tackle their emissions if the United States pulled back on promised aid to help them adjust to the worst effects of climate change.

Not everyone is so pessimistic, however. Luke Kemp, a climate policy expert at Australian National University, suggests that other countries might choose to redouble their pursuit of cleaner energy in the face of recalcitrance from the Trump administration. "In the short term you could see a galvanizing effect," he said.

China, the world's largest emitter, is poised to assume a dominant role in future talks. The country is investing heavily in wind, solar and nuclear power in an attempt to level off its once-insatiable coal consumption. But it is unclear how far China's leaders will go in pressuring other countries

to raise their ambitions. In the past, China has argued against rigorous transparency standards to review nations' progress.

But the rest of the world will have a lot of heavy lifting ahead of it: Current pledges, when added up, put the planet on pace to warm 3 degrees Celsius or more above preindustrial levels, an outcome with a far greater risk of destabilizing ice sheets in Greenland and Antarctica, higher levels of sea-level rise, more destructive heat waves and droughts, and the loss of vital ecosystems like coral reefs.

One final variable: A future American administration could always change course on climate policy — and even try to rejoin the agreement once Mr. Trump is out of office.

"Other countries are constantly judging each other's positions in the world," Mr. Victor said. "If it looks like this administration is only going to last for four years, you might see other countries continue to push along on climate and not give up on the U.S. just yet."

Trump said to favor exit from Paris deal

World leaders, big firms
pressure U.S. to abide by
carbon-cutting accord

BY PHILIP RUCKER,
CHRIS MOONEY
AND BRADY DENNIS

President Trump is still undecided but leaning toward withdrawing the United States from the landmark Paris climate agreement, White House officials said Wednesday, a move that would honor a campaign vow but risk rupturing global alliances and disappointing both environmentalists and corporate titans.

Although officials warned that Trump's thinking could shift before he announces his decision Thursday, a U.S. exit from the climate pact could have severe ramifications internationally. It could raise doubts about the commitment of the world's largest economy to curbing global warming and make it more difficult to hold other nations to their environmental commitments.

All but two countries — Nicaragua and Syria — signed onto the 2015 accord, which was a signature diplomatic achievement for President Barack Obama.

The Paris agreement has long divided the Trump administration, with the president taking much of the spring to make up his mind amid an intense campaign

PARIS CONTINUED ON A12

The price for bucking Trump

Sen. Jeff Flake, unafraid to defy his party, faces a GOP primary foe. A4

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Trump leans toward withdrawing U.S. from Paris climate accord, officials say

PARIS FROM AS

by both sides to influence his decision.

Secretary of State Rex Tillerson and Ivanka Trump, the president's daughter and adviser, are among those who have urged him to stay in the deal. White House chief strategist Stephen K. Bannon and Environmental Protection Agency Administrator Scott Pruitt have pushed for a withdrawal, which wouldn't actually be finalized until near the end of Trump's term.

Although the White House signaled that Trump was likely to announce an exit from the Paris accord, it made no public announcement Wednesday. Trump tweeted that he would announce his decision Thursday at 3 p.m. in the White House Rose Garden. The president has a history of changing his mind at the last minute, as he did in deciding not to pull out of the North American Free Trade Agreement after aides had suggested he would.

All day, senior administration officials cautioned that Trump had not yet made a final decision on the climate pact — and the president himself seemed eager to maintain the suspense.

"You're going to find out very soon," Trump told reporters Wednesday, in response to questions during a brief Oval Office appearance with Vietnamese Prime Minister Nguyen Xuan Phuc.

Asked whether he had been hearing from CEOs trying to per-

suade him, Trump said, "I'm hearing from a lot of people, both ways."

More than 190 nations agreed to the accord in December 2015 in Paris, and 147 have since formally ratified or otherwise joined it, including the United States — representing more than 80 percent of the world's greenhouse gas emissions.

The United States is the world's second-largest emitter of greenhouse gases. Under the Paris agreement, the United States promised to reduce its emissions 26 percent to 28 percent below their 2005 levels by 2025. As of 2015, emissions were 12 percent lower, according to the U.S. Energy Information Administration.

Hard-line conservatives have sought to convince Trump that meeting this target would be harmful to the bottom lines of U.S. businesses and would jeopardize manufacturing jobs, especially in the Midwest and other regions where Trump found deep support in last year's election.

They also have argued that staying in the Paris agreement could be used as a legal tool by environmental groups seeking to fight Trump's environmental policies.

In addition, a group of 22 Republican senators — including Senate Majority Leader Mitch McConnell (R-Ky.) — wrote to Trump urging "a clean break" from the Paris agreement.

But Tillerson and other internationalists have argued that it would be beneficial to the United

States to remain part of negotiations and meetings surrounding the agreement as a matter of leverage and influence.

A broad range of outsiders have lobbied Trump to remain part of the global pact, from former vice president Al Gore to Pope Francis. The administration's debate has triggered an outpouring of lobbying from corporate America as well, as Apple, ExxonMobil and other major companies have strongly supported the accord.

During Trump's maiden foreign trip last week, a number of European leaders sought to persuade Trump of the magnitude of the climate change crisis and the importance of American leadership to address it.

Gary Cohn, the National Economic Council director, told reporters last week that Trump "wants to do the right thing for the environment. He cares about the environment. But he also cares very much about creating jobs for American workers." He added, "If those things collide, growing our economy is going to win. The president ran on growing our economy."

As a candidate, Trump railed against the Paris accord and pledged to scrap it, as part of his "America First" agenda to promote economic nationalism and disentangle the United States from international agreements that he considers harmful.

Trump also said he thought climate change was a "hoax." Asked by a reporter Wednesday whether

he still believes so, the president said only, "Thank you, everybody."

News reports Wednesday that Trump was expected to withdraw from the Paris accord sparked swift and strong reactions.

Elon Musk, the chief executive of Tesla and a member of a White House manufacturing jobs advisory board, tweeted that if Trump does exit, he would have "no choice" but to end his affiliations with the administration.

Mitt Romney, the 2012 Republican presidential nominee and one of Trump's finalists for secretary of state, tweeted, "Affirmation of the #ParisAgreement is not only about the climate: It is also about America remaining the global leader."

Sen. Michael F. Bennet (D-Colo.) said leaving the Paris agreement would amount to an "abdication" of American values.

"This would be yet another example of President Trump's 'Putting America Last' agenda — last in innovation, last in science, and last in international leadership," Bennet said in a statement.

Others cheered the notion that Trump might soon kill the climate agreement that had been an Obama legacy item.

"President Trump's decision sends a strong message to the environmental movement: no longer will the United States be strong armed by their scare tactics intended to harm our economy and inhibit economic growth," David McIntosh, president of the Club for Growth, a conservative political action group, said in a state-

ment.

A party that has fully joined the accord, as the United States has, cannot formally withdraw for three years after the agreement was entered into force in 2016 — and that is capped by an extra year-long waiting period. Under those rules, Trump could not complete a U.S. exit from the agreement until Nov. 4, 2020 — the day after the next presidential election.

European Commission President Jean-Claude Juncker said he tried to explain to Trump during their climate discussions last week that withdrawing from the pact was no simple task.

"Not everything in international agreements is 'fake news,'" Juncker said Wednesday. He added, "This notion, 'I am Trump, I am American, 'America First' and I'm going to get out of it' — that won't happen. We tried to explain that to Mr. Trump in Taormina in clear German sentences. It seems our attempt failed." Taormina is the Sicilian resort town where the Group of Seven leaders met last week.

Trump also could opt to withdraw from the more foundational U.N. Framework Convention on Climate Change, which laid the groundwork for the Paris deal and was signed by President George H.W. Bush and ratified by the Senate in the early 1990s.

But that is a more radical move, which would further withdraw the United States from all international climate change negotiations.

The Trump administration already has rolled back key Obama administration initiatives through executive action, including the EPA's Clean Power Plan, which was a key part of the U.S. promise through the Paris agreement. These policies have made it highly unlikely that the United States could honor its Paris pledge to sharply cut carbon dioxide emissions.

That leaves Trump with two clear choices: withdraw from the Paris agreement or revise the U.S. emissions targets downward to a more achievable level while remaining in the pact.

A downward revision would certainly prompt criticism from the international community, but not nearly so much as an abandonment. The Paris agreement is, after all, the first global accord on climate change action that has managed to unify both developed and developing nations behind a single framework to cut emissions.

Moreover, the accord is flexible in the sense that it does not mandate that any nation achieve any particular level of emissions cuts. Rather, every nation under the agreement pledges to do the best it can, and to participate in a process in which nations will regularly increase their ambitions over time.

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Michael Birnbaum in Brussels contributed to this report.

Paris Climate Discord

President Trump and his advisers are debating whether to withdraw the U.S. from the Paris climate accord, and if he does the fury will be apocalyptic—start building arks for the catastrophic flood. The reality is that withdrawing is in America's economic interest and won't matter much to the climate.

President Obama signed the agreement last September, albeit by ducking the two-thirds majority vote in the Senate required under the Constitution for such national commitments. The pact includes a three-year process for withdrawal, which Mr. Trump could short-circuit by also pulling out of the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change.

Paris was supposed to address the failures of the 1997 Kyoto protocol, which Bill Clinton signed but George W. Bush refused to implement amid similar outrage. The Kyoto episode is instructive because the U.S. has since reduced emissions faster than much of Europe thanks to business innovation—namely, hydraulic fracturing that is replacing coal with natural gas.

While legally binding, Kyoto's CO₂ emissions targets weren't strictly enforced. European countries that pursued aggressive reductions were engaging in economic masochism. According to a 2014 Manhattan Institute study, the average cost of residential electricity in 2012 was 12 cents per kilowatt hour in the U.S. but an average 26 cents in the European Union and 35 cents in Germany. The average price of electricity in the EU soared 55% from 2005 to 2013.

Yet Germany's emissions have increased in the last two years as more coal is burned to compensate for reduced nuclear energy and unreliable solar and wind power. Last year coal made up 40% of Germany's power generation compared to 30% for renewables, while state subsidies to stabilize the electric grid have grown five-fold since 2012.

But the climate believers tried again in Paris, this time with goals that are supposedly voluntary. China and India offered benchmarks pegged to GDP growth, which means they can continue their current energy plans. China won't even begin reducing emissions until 2030 and in the next five years it will use more coal.

President Obama, meanwhile, committed the U.S. to reducing emissions by between 26% and 28% below 2005 levels by 2025. This would require extreme changes in energy use. Even Mr. Obama's bevy of anti-carbon regulations would get the U.S. to a mere 45% of its target.

Meeting the goals would require the Environmental Protection Agency to impose stringent emissions controls on vast stretches of the economy including steel production, farm soil management and enteric fermentation (i.e., cow

flatulence). Don't laugh—California's Air Resources Board is issuing regulations to curb bovine burping to meet its climate goals.

U.S. emissions targets could trap Trump if he stays in the accord.

Advocates in the White House for remaining in Paris claim the U.S. has the right to unilaterally reduce Mr. Obama's emissions commitments. They say stay in and avoid the political meltdown while rewriting

the U.S. targets.

But Article 4, paragraph 11 of the accord says "a party may at any time adjust its existing nationally determined contribution with a view to enhancing its level of ambition." There is no comparable language permitting a reduction in national targets.

Rest assured that the Sierra Club and other greens will sue under the Section 115 "international air pollution" provision of the Clean Air Act to force the Trump Administration to enforce the Paris standards. The "voluntary" talk will vanish amid the hunt for judges to rule that Section 115 commands the U.S. to reduce emissions that "endanger" foreign countries if those countries reciprocate under Paris. After his experience with the travel ban, Mr. Trump should understand that legal danger.

* * *

The Big Con at the heart of Paris is that even its supporters concede that meeting all of its commitments won't prevent more than a 0.17 degree Celsius increase in global temperatures by 2100, far less than the two degrees that is supposedly needed to avert climate doom.

It's also rich for Europeans to complain about the U.S. abdicating climate leadership after their regulators looked the other way as auto makers, notably Volkswagen, cheated on emissions tests. This allowed Europeans to claim they were meeting their green goals without harming the competitiveness of their auto makers. The EPA had to shame the EU into investigating the subterfuge.

The U.S. legal culture will insist on carbon compliance even if Europe and China cheat. Even if Mr. Trump would succeed in rewriting U.S. emissions targets, his predecessor could ratchet them back up. That possibility might deter some companies from investing in long-term fossil-fuel production.

The simplest decision is to make a clean break from Paris. But if Mr. Trump doesn't want to take the political heat for withdrawing on his own, here's a compromise: Atone for Mr. Obama's dereliction and submit Paris to the Senate for approval as a treaty. Then we can see whether anticarbon virtue-signaling beats real-world economic costs for Democrats from energy states like Heidi Heitkamp (North Dakota), Joe Manchin (West Virginia) and Joe Donnelly (Indiana).

Trump Likely to End Climate Deal

President weighs outright withdrawal or fewer emissions cuts; lobbying intensifies

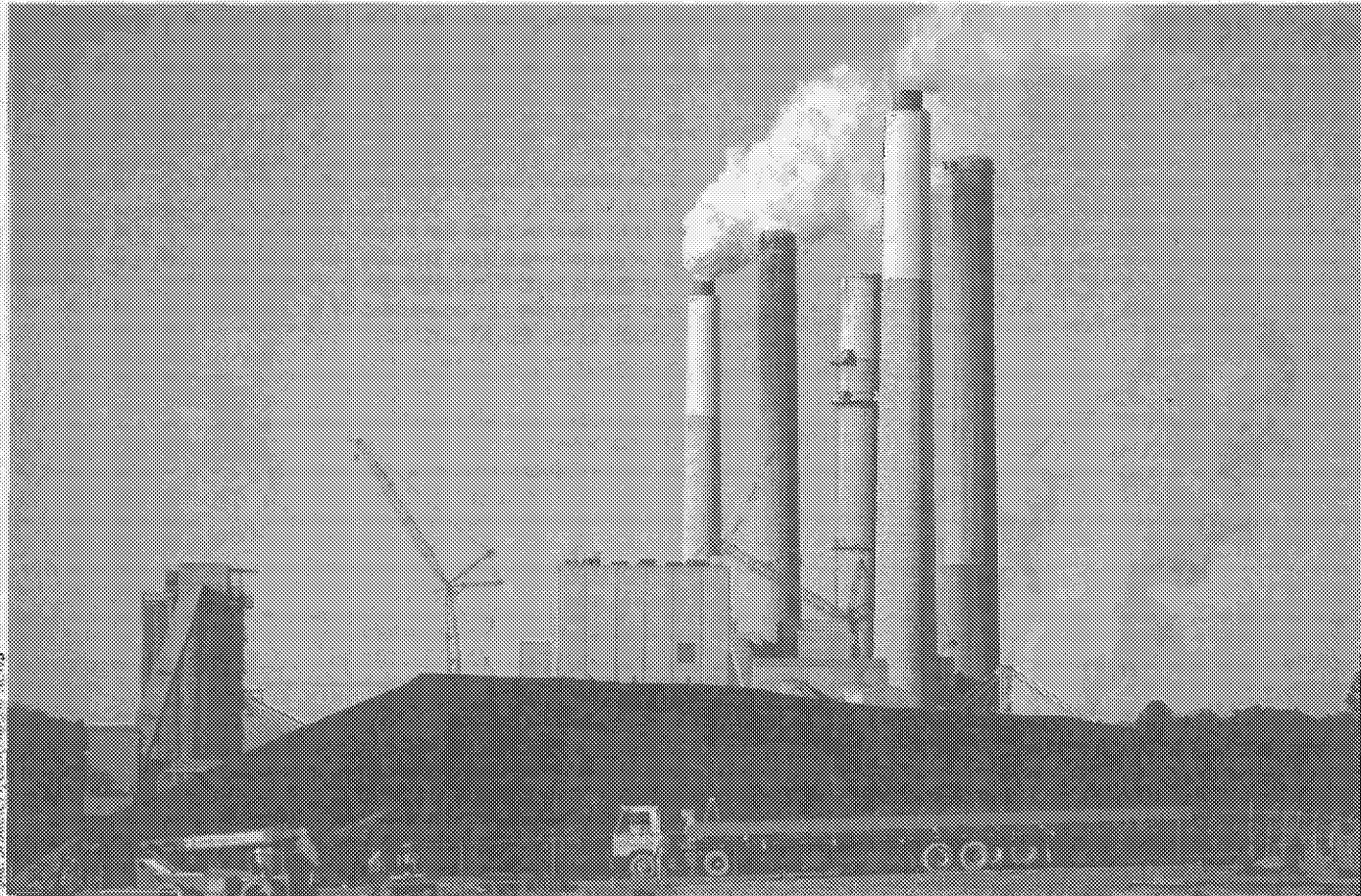
By ELI STOKOLS
AND BRADLEY OLSON

President Donald Trump said he would make an announcement Thursday on the Paris climate treaty, with three White House officials saying he is expected to withdraw from the accord, although they cautioned that the situation may yet change.

The president said on Twitter late Wednesday that he will announce his decision Thursday afternoon at the White House Rose Garden.

Under the accord, 190 countries committed to cutting greenhouse-gas emissions, in an effort to combat climate change. The agreement aims to keep average global temperatures from rising more than 2 degrees Celsius, or 3.6 degrees Fahrenheit, above preindustrial levels.

Under the agreement, each country determines its own set



U.S. carbon dioxide emissions have fallen as cheaper natural gas has been replacing coal to generate the nation's electricity.

keep average global temperatures from rising more than 2 degrees Celsius, or 3.6 degrees Fahrenheit, above preindustrial levels.

Under the agreement, each country determines its own set of emissions targets and a plan to reach them.

The U.S. had pledged to cut greenhouse-gas emissions by 26% to 28% from 2005 levels by 2025. The U.S. is the world's second-largest emitter of carbon, behind China, which has reaffirmed its own commitment to meeting its targets under the Paris accord.

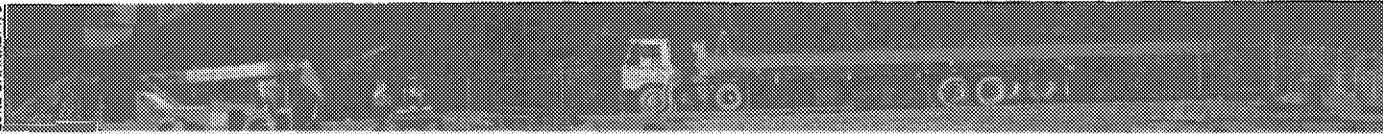
According to several administration officials, Mr. Trump had been weighing how far to go in fulfilling a campaign promise that he would pull the U.S. from the accord.

Mr. Trump has also heard from business leaders and senior aides who are urging him not to completely withdraw.

Because the Paris agreement is nonbinding, Mr. Trump has the option of lowering the emissions targets for the U.S. without withdrawing completely, which could take three years under the original agreement.

The president met Wednesday with Secretary of State Rex Tillerson, who has advo-

LUKE SHARRETT/78



U.S. carbon dioxide emissions have fallen as cheaper natural gas has been replacing coal to generate the nation's electricity.

Leaders Defend Global Agreement

World powers are locking arms to defend the 2015 Paris climate accord should President Donald Trump decide to pull the U.S. from the deal.

From Brussels to Beijing, leaders say they are ready to move ahead without Mr. Trump and implement the agreement.

cated remaining in the deal. A day earlier, Mr. Trump met with a leading voice for complete withdrawal, Environmental Protection Agency Administrator Scott Pruitt.

Messrs. Pruitt and Trump have both expressed skepticism about the role of human activity as a leading factor in climate change.

Dozens of Fortune 500 companies have lobbied the administration to remain in the

In some cases, nations have agreed to accelerate their adoption of the Paris deal.

The European Union and China are due Friday to sign a statement at a summit in Brussels that calls for "stepping up action" in the shift from fossil fuels to renewable energy, according to a draft of the document viewed by The Wall Street Journal.

"The EU and China underline their highest political commit-

ment to the effective implementation of the Paris Agreement," the draft states. "They call on all parties to uphold the Paris Agreement."

The push to rally international support for the Paris deal reflects determination to prevent a decadelong diplomatic effort from unraveling without the involvement of the world's leading economy. It is also a sign of flexibility built into the deal that was needed to win

backing from more than 190 nations: The agreement prescribes no target for emissions reductions, only that governments prepare plans to limit carbon dioxide and other greenhouse gases.

A U.S. withdrawal, however, risks fostering long-term ill will among America's negotiating partners, particularly in the developed world.

—Matthew Dalton in Paris and Emre Peker in Brussels

the president to reconsider, say people familiar with the calls.

At last week's summit of the Group of Seven leading nations in Sicily, European leaders also focused their conversations with Mr. Trump on convincing him of the importance of U.S. leadership when it comes to combating climate change.

◆ Shareholders press Exxon for climate 'stress test'..... B3

Message

From: McGonagle, Kevin [mcgonagle.kevin@epa.gov]
Sent: 6/2/2017 6:56:59 PM
To: Press [Press@epa.gov]
Subject: Newspaper clips 6/2/17 - attached
Attachments: WSJ_6-2-17_Clippling_Exit.pdf; WSJ_6-2-17_Clippling_Trump.pdf; USAT_6-2-17_Clippling_opinion.pdf; USAT_6-2-17_Clippling_businessleaders.pdf; USAT_6-2-17_Clippling_Trump.pdf; USAT_6-2-17_Clippling_picture.pdf; USAT_6-2-17_Clippling_differ.pdf; USAT_6-2-17_Clippling_allies.pdf; NYT_6-2-17_Clippling_OpEd3.pdf; NYT_6-2-17_Clippling_companies.pdf; NYT_6-2-17_Clippling_base.pdf; NYT_6-2-17_Clippling_OpEd2.pdf; NYT_6-2-17_Clippling_OpEd.pdf; NYT_6-2-17_Clippling_china.pdf; NYT_6-2-17_Clippling_othercountries.pdf; NYT_6-2-17_Clippling_condemnation.pdf; NYT_6-2-17_Clippling_economicburdens.pdf; NYT_6-2-17_Clippling_states.pdf; WSJ_6-2-17_Clippling_companies.pdf; WSJ_6-2-17_Clippling_Opinion.pdf; WaPo_6-2-17_Clippling_OpEd2.pdf; WaPo_6-2-17_Clippling_OpEd.pdf; WaPo_6-2-17_Clippling_chinaindia.pdf; WaPo_6-2-17_Clippling_factchecker.pdf; WaPo_6-2-17_Clippling_goal.pdf; WaPo_6-2-17_Clippling_denounce.pdf; WaPo_6-2-17_Clippling_Trump.pdf; WaPo_6-2-17_Clippling_states.pdf; WaPo_6-2-17_Clippling_shift.pdf

There are 29 clips for today.

New York Times – 10
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Paris Exit: Less Than Meets The Eye

By SPENCER JAKAB

Investors will feel the impact of the U.S.'s pullout from the Paris climate agreement in surprising and counterintuitive ways.

Energy giants Exxon Mobil and ConocoPhillips, both of which supported the agreement, may get hit on the margin, even though the conventional wisdom has it that they would be winners.

Meanwhile, future greenhouse gas emissions may not be too different from what they might have been under a Clinton administration. Market forces, such as cheap natural gas, will have a bigger effect than the agreement would have.

Meanwhile, U.S. regulations aimed at meeting Paris goals weren't burdensome for all. Exxon Mobil, for example, stood to benefit. Stricter U.S. climate rules may have produced a slight drag on the demand for oil, a global commodity of which Exxon is the sixth-largest producer. But it would have been a boon to U.S. natural gas, a mostly landlocked market where Exxon is the top producer.

Furthermore, rules mandating the capture of greenhouse gas methane, which escapes some U.S. oil wells, hurts

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- ◆ Complete departure will take some years..... A5

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smaller competitors far more than Exxon or its peers. Big oil's wells are in large fields near pipelines where the methane already can be captured and turned into fuels.

Finally, Exxon shareholders, a majority of whom voted this week on a nonbinding proposal calling for it to reveal the impact of complying with climate-change rules, might have been placated.

The trajectory of U.S. greenhouse gas emissions under President Donald Trump's policies may be surprisingly mild.

Under the auspices of the Paris agreement, the Obama

administration pledged to reduce U.S. greenhouse gas emissions to between 26% and 28% below the 2005 level by 2025. Much of that already is well under way, though, as a result of factors outside of any president's control: slower growth following the financial crisis, the shale gas revolution that has replaced a third of coal use and shifting driving habits.

The Rhodium Group calculates that the U.S. still will come close to a 17% reduction in greenhouse gas emissions as soon as 2020 but then stall.

Other policies will do relatively little to meet climate goals. For example, state and federal tax breaks encourage electric-vehicle sales, but they are just 1% of all passenger vehicles sold today. Even if they

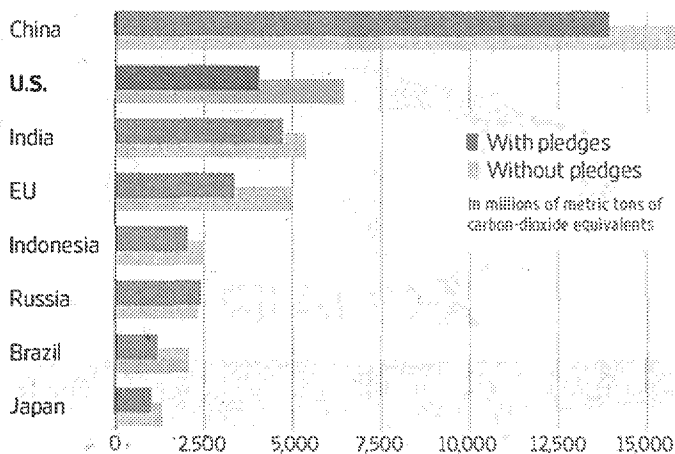
reach 5% of all vehicles on the road by 2025, the reduction in total U.S. greenhouse gas emissions would be about half a percentage point, holding all else equal.

Other Obama policies may not have been as effective as they seemed. Natural gas should continue to replace older coal plants as long as the relative prices of the fuels remain around today's levels, though perhaps more slowly than before. And auto makers would likely have negotiated loopholes in efficiency rules.

There is little doubt that some U.S. industries can celebrate, but governments around the world, and even in some U.S. states, may force U.S. companies to adhere to stricter rules anyway.

Air of Uncertainty

Projected 2030 emissions with pledges made in the Paris climate accord



Source: Michel den Elzen, PBL Netherlands Environmental Assessment Agency

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL.

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Trump Quits Global Climate Accord

President says he will either demand better terms or craft a new deal to aid U.S. industry

By Eli Stokols

President Donald Trump said Thursday he will withdraw the U.S. from the Paris climate accord in an effort to boost the nation's industry and independence, making a dramatic shift in policy despite intense lobbying from business leaders and close allies.

"I was elected to represent the citizens of Pittsburgh, not

Paris," Mr. Trump said, calling the decision a "reassertion of our sovereignty."

Mr. Trump said he would begin negotiations to either re-enter the Paris agreement under new terms or craft a new deal that he judges fair to the U.S. and its workers.

Several countries immediately rejected that idea. During a phone call Thursday, President Emmanuel Macron of France told Mr. Trump that the Paris agreement can't be changed, and he issued a joint statement with the leaders of Germany and Italy that the accord "cannot be renegotiated."

Mr. Trump, framing his deci-

sion mostly in economic and political terms, pointed to the agreement's lesser requirements for the world's other leading carbon emitters, China and India. He voiced his concern for protecting the environment and eschewed any reiteration of his past claims that climate change isn't real, but he said his decision is rooted in protecting the country's interests.

"This agreement is less about the climate and more about other countries gaining a financial advantage" over the U.S., the GOP president said.

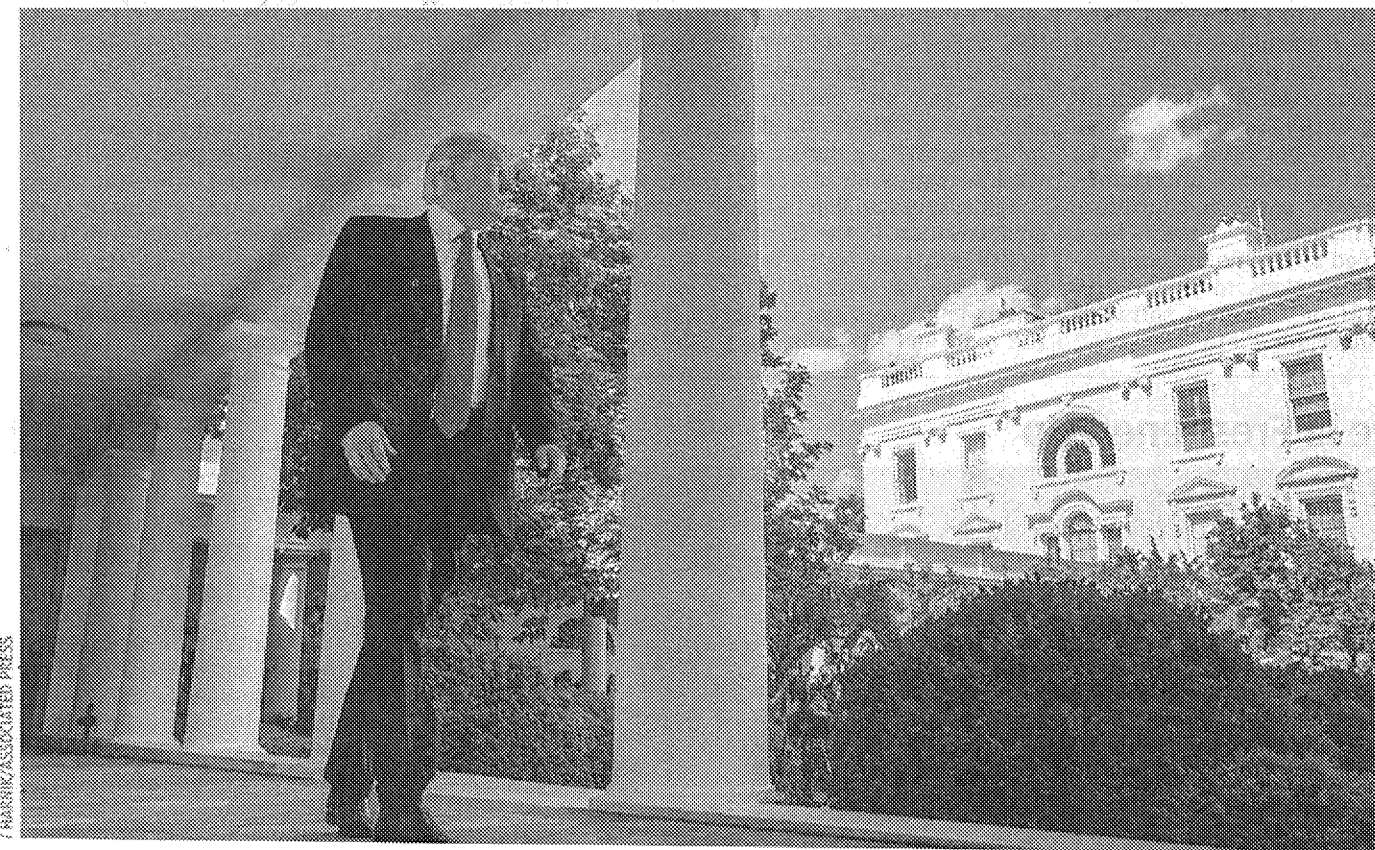
Mr. Trump's action represents a 180-degree turn from the environmental agenda of his

Democratic predecessor, former President Barack Obama, whose administration helped orchestrate the agreement, which pledged the U.S. to reduce carbon emissions. Mr. Trump's decision was cheered by some domestic industries, notably coal, oil-and-gas companies, including Murray Energy Corp., the country's largest privately held coal miner.

But some large U.S. corporations opposed the move, including Exxon Mobil Corp., General Electric Co. and Apple Inc., whose chief executives all publicly argued in favor of remaining in the pact. After Mr.

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Trump's announcement, Tesla Inc. Chief Executive Elon Musk and Walt Disney Co. CEO Robert Iger said they would withdraw from the president's advisory councils.

Some big companies said exiting the deal would have little immediate impact on their investments and strategies because they are facing customer and shareholder demands to reduce greenhouse-gas emissions. They also operate in other countries, and in U.S. states, where climate rules remain a fact of life, so they continue to face government pressure.

The decision on the climate deal came after months of tense debates within a divided West Wing and intense speculation in the 48 hours leading up to the announcement.

Secretary of State Rex Tillerson pressed the president to keep the U.S. in the Paris accord, as did Defense Secretary Jim Mattis and leaders at the Pentagon, who have long viewed combating climate change as a matter of national security.

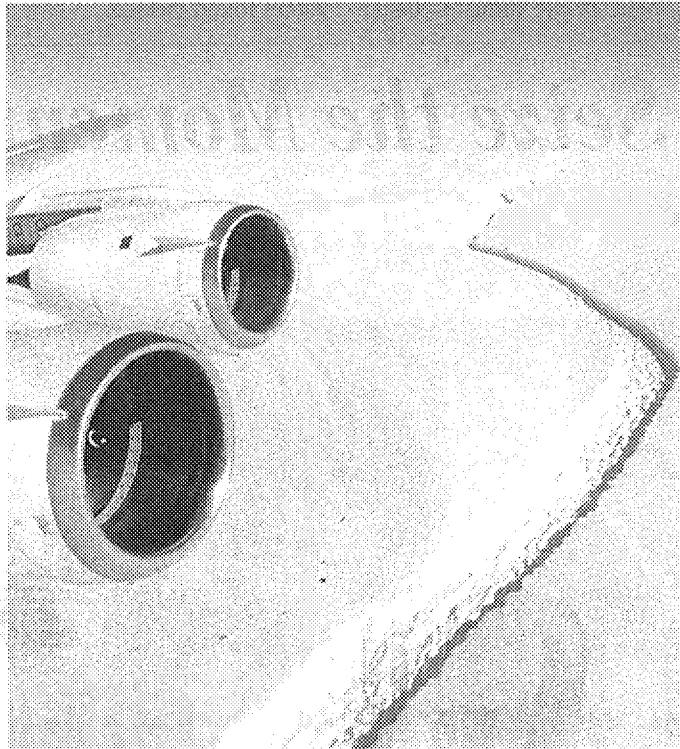
Senior adviser Steve Bannon and Environmental Protection Agency Administrator Scott Pruitt led the internal push to persuade Mr. Trump to follow through on his campaign promise to withdraw from the Paris accord. Following the president's speech, Mr. Pruitt closed out the ceremony by praising Mr. Trump for his "unflinching commitment to put America first," and he characterized the withdrawal as a "historic restoration of American economic independence."

Lawmakers' reactions split largely along party lines, with many Republicans saying Mr. Trump's decision would unshackle domestic industry and create jobs.

Senate Majority Leader Mitch McConnell (R., Ky.) said Mr. Trump's decision dealt "another significant blow to the Obama administration's assault on domestic energy production and jobs."

But many Democrats criticized the Paris exit, saying Mr. Trump was relinquishing leadership on an important issue.

Sen. Chuck Schumer of New York, the chamber's Democratic leader, said the decision to withdraw was a "devastating failure of historic proportions."



A rift in Antarctica's Larsen C ice shelf has been expanding in recent months.

Exit Draws Rebuke, Resolve Abroad

PARIS—World leaders vowed to stick with the 2015 Paris accord without the U.S., amid concerns about the deal's long-term political support and the need to replace billions of dollars that Washington had pledged in climate-change finance.

A chorus of leaders Thursday criticized President Donald Trump's decision. French President Emmanuel Macron, German Chancellor Angela Merkel and Italian Prime Minister Paolo Gentiloni spoke by phone after Mr. Trump's speech. The three leaders issued a statement saying the Paris accord is "irreversible."

In a statement, Japan's government called the U.S. move

"regrettable," but its environment minister was more candid at a news conference. "It's as if they've turned their backs on the wisdom of humanity," Koichi Yamamoto told reporters.

Vows from Beijing, Paris and other capitals to defend the international agreement might keep it on track in the short term. But officials and analysts say the deal's long-term future is in danger.

"You can't pick up the slack of the world's second-largest emitter," said Paul Bodnar, who led the climate finance negotiations for the U.S. in Paris.

The U.S.'s willingness under the Obama administration to propose major emissions reductions and put money on the table helped solidify global consensus behind the deal. It also helped persuade politicians

world-wide of the need to seek more ambitious cuts and channel more money into the fight against global warming, officials and experts say.

The U.S. joins war-torn Syria and Nicaragua as the only nations not participating in the deal.

A pillar of the deal called for wealthy nations to provide at least \$100 billion a year in financing to developing countries. The goal was to shift the entire course of economic development in poorer nations, directing them to renewable energy before they become dependent on fossil fuels.

Governments acknowledged that rich nations need to mobilize significantly more than \$100 billion each year to ensure that emissions in poor nations don't soar as their economies grow.

—Matthew Dalton

Pittsburgh Mayor Bill Peduto, a Democrat, wrote on Twitter that despite Mr. Trump saying he represented the people of his city, most voters there supported Hillary Clinton in the presidential election. "I can assure you that we will follow the guidelines of the Paris Agreement for our people, our economy & future," he wrote.

Although the final decision remained in doubt right up until the president's emphatic statement Thursday afternoon, Mr. Trump had drafted the resolution to withdraw from the Paris agreement two weeks ago, ac-

cording to a person familiar with the internal deliberations that pitted Messrs. Bannon and Pruitt against much of Mr. Trump's economic and national-security advisers, as well as his own family.

But the president was resolute, telling his team that there were too many costs and that the U.S. would no longer be laughed at for participating in such deals, a person familiar with the matter said.

He said he wanted to deliver a campaign promise to "my people," meaning his base of voters, this person said. "He

looked at this like it was a union deal—slap them in the face, and then renegotiate," the person said.

Mr. Obama issued a statement Thursday standing by the Paris accord and the U.S. role in forging it.

Renegotiating the agreement or entering under new terms could be very difficult in practice, since nearly all nations agreed on the deal in 2015, and leading economies have said they would continue with the original deal if the U.S. leaves.

Other countries—led by European nations—place a much

higher importance on cooperation to curb climate change, so Mr. Trump's move could reduce his flexibility in working with world leaders, especially if the withdrawal from the Paris agreement affects public attitude toward the U.S.

"It will undercut the trust that other countries have in the U.S. in entering into agreements—trade agreements, agreements on security issues, you name it," said David Waskow, director of the international climate initiative at the World Resources Institute, an environmental think tank.

Backing away from climate commitments could also shift some investments in potentially lucrative green-energy technology away from the U.S. and toward economic rivals, including China, which pledged massive investment in renewable energy through the pact.

"It is going to lead to major corporations and nations partnering with China," said Paul Bledsoe, a former climate official in the Clinton administration and lecturer at American University in Washington.

A Trump administration official said Thursday the president is sincere in supporting a possible renegotiation of the deal or a process for the U.S. to re-enter under different terms, which could include less ambitious emissions targets, but offered little additional clarity on what concessions might satisfy the administration and how it planned to engage the nearly 200 countries involved in a renegotiation.

The Paris accord allowed participating countries to determine their own set of emissions targets and plans to reach them with the broader goal of keeping average global temperatures from rising more than 2 degrees Celsius, or 3.6 degrees Fahrenheit, above preindustrial levels. That level is considered by climate scientists to be the danger threshold, beyond which damage to the planet would become irreversible.

The U.S. had pledged to cut greenhouse-gas emissions by 26% to 28% from 2005 levels by 2025. The U.S. is the world's second-largest emitter of carbon, behind China, which has reaffirmed its own commitment to meeting its targets under the Paris accord.

—William Mauldin,
Russell Gold, Janet Hook
and Michael C. Bender
contributed to this article.

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Our view

Trump's Paris pullout endangers the planet

Decades from now — if sea levels continue rising, polar ice caps keep melting and weather patterns grow ever more extreme — people might well look back at the spring of 2017 as a key turning point in the failed effort to stave off catastrophic, human-induced climate change.

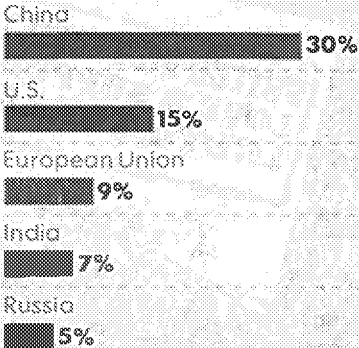
President Trump's decision Thursday to withdraw the United States, the world's second largest emitter of heat-trapping carbon dioxide, from the Paris climate agreement deals a body blow to one of the best hopes for slowing a ruinous rise in global temperatures.

By breaking ranks with nearly 200 nations, the United States joins only Syria (which is riven by civil war) and Nicaragua (which thinks the Paris agreement isn't ambitious enough) as the odd countries out. The Trump administration's action abdicates America's moral leadership and makes it easier for other nations to renege on their own pledges to curb greenhouse-gas emissions.

In making his reckless decision, Trump defied the advice of the world's leading climate scientists. Of Pope Francis and other religious leaders. Of the leaders of the seven wealthiest democracies. Of major corporations, including Chevron, Google, Facebook and Apple. Of members of his own inner circle, including son-in-law Jared Kushner and daughter

GREENHOUSE GASES

Top 5 carbon dioxide emitters:



SOURCE: Environmental Protection Agency, 2014 data
GRAPHIC: PETRAS, USA TODAY

Ivanka. Of his own secretary of State, a former ExxonMobil CEO.

And Trump ignored the wishes of most Americans, seven out of 10 of whom favor the Paris agreement.

But the president — prodded by chief strategist Steve Bannon, Environmental Protection Agency administrator Scott Pruitt and coal-state Republicans in Congress — thinks he knows better. At Thursday's Rose Garden announcement, Trump argued that the 2015 agreement "handicaps the United States economy," even though there is no binding deal, only voluntary pledges by each nation to reduce greenhouse gas emissions.

He expressed concern about job-killing restrictions. Yet the Paris accord restricts nothing. Instead, it relies on peer pressure and transparency to limit global warming to a more tolerable level. Trump could have revised President Obama's pledges without ending U.S. participation.

Trump made a nod toward renegotiating the Paris agreement, or crafting an entirely new pact that would be "fair" to the United States. But it's hard to imagine other nations rushing back to the bargaining table after Trump walked away from an agreement that grew out of decades of arduous climate talks.

Other governments, notably in the European Union and China, vow to forge ahead developing the clean-energy technologies that will be the drivers of economic growth in the 21st century. But global warming is a problem that requires a global solution. The margin for tilting the planet away from catastrophic climate change in the future is slim, and no matter the slack picked up by other nations in the absence of U.S. leadership, it might not be enough.

The 45th president dreams of a legacy where America is great again. There was no greatness in the decision he rendered Thursday, just the heightened prospect of a climate-stricken globe left behind for future generations.

Opposing view

Paris deal harms U.S. prosperity

Roger Wicker

Last month, I signed a letter with 21 of my Senate colleagues urging President Trump to withdraw from the Paris climate agreement. The 2015 deal made by the Obama administration runs counter to the actions President Trump has taken to deliver regulatory relief to American families and workers since he took office.

Chief among those actions is an executive order to end President Obama's so-called Clean Power Plan. The carbon dioxide rules at the center of the Clean Power Plan amount to an intrusive overreach, and the Supreme Court has halted their implementation.

The Paris agreement stood in the way of President Trump's efforts to eliminate these costly carbon dioxide rules. But this would be the least of its harm. A report released in March by NERA Economic Consulting suggests that the climate deal could cost the U.S. economy nearly \$3 trillion and more than 6 million industrial sector jobs by 2040.

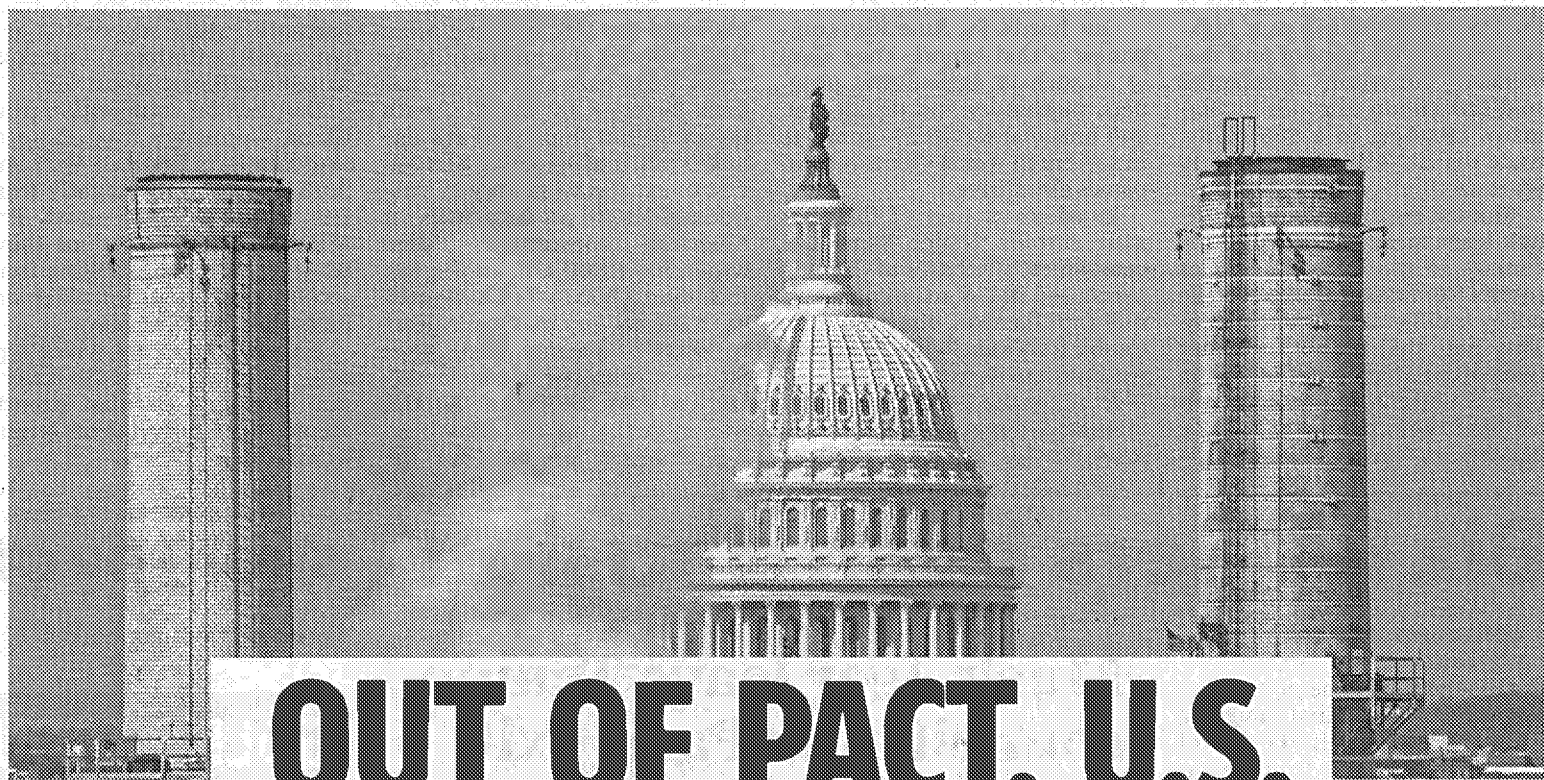
Like many Americans, I questioned what this hefty price tag would actually buy. There is little evidence that the

Paris agreement would significantly reduce the growth of global temperatures — or that it would substantially change the level of the seas. In other words, why should we put American livelihoods at risk and subject U.S. sovereignty to international litigation when the climate change agreement offers little return on its investment?

Americans who are concerned about carbon dioxide should be pleased with recent developments. Market-driven solutions helped reduce CO2 emissions by 12% in the past decade. Besides, the United States already engages with other countries under the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change, a treaty adopted by the Senate in 1992. Under the Constitution, legally binding treaties require a two-thirds majority of the Senate.

The Paris deal would have threatened our country's prosperity. Because job creation is one of President Trump's principal goals, I am glad he has initiated what our letter suggested: "Make a clean break from the Paris agreement."

Sen. Roger Wicker, R-Miss., is a member of the Environment & Public Works Committee.



JAY LO SCALZO, EPA

OUT OF PACT, U.S. HAS ROUGH ROAD AHEAD

Paris exit jeopardizes ability to negotiate, experts warn

**Marco della Cava,
Jon Swartz, Paul Davidson
and Nathan Bomey**
USA TODAY

SAN FRANCISCO President Trump's decision Thursday to exit the Paris climate agree-

ment is likely to give a small and immediate lift to the oil and coal industry, which makes good on a persistent campaign promise. But, economists and energy experts warn, over time the controversial decision to drop out of the international pact to help stem climate change may hamper the nation's ability to financially capi-

talize on the globe's shift to renewable resources. Leaving the Paris agreement jeopardizes the United States' ability to be a global leader in new clean technology developments and sell those insights to a world hungry for cheap energy, experts say. "The biggest danger in leaving

the accord is you lose your seat at the negotiating table for all climate talks to come," says Shayle Kann of GTM Research, which does market analysis on next-generation energy solutions. "If you're not able to negotiate bilateral agreements, that can impact U.S. exports of our own leading-edge technology."

Trump's decision runs counter

► **STORY CONTINUES ON 2B**

Biz leaders bash decision

► CONTINUED FROM 1B

to the advice of some of his closest advisers, including daughter Ivanka. It also flies in the face of pleas from everyone from Exxon CEO Darren Woods, who wrote Trump asking him to keep the U.S. seat at the bargaining table, to Tesla CEO Elon Musk, who has made good on his vow to quit the president's economic council if Trump opted out of Paris.

"Climate change is real," Musk tweeted. "Leaving Paris is not good for America or the world."

Other business leaders reacting swiftly and negatively to the news, included Salesforce founder Marc Benioff and Microsoft CEO Satya Nadella.

Benioff tweeted that he was "deeply disappointed" by the decision, noting that his company would continue to strive to run only renewable energy.

Nadella tweeted that "climate change is an urgent issue that demands global action" and linked to Microsoft President Brad Smith's blog post that noted a weeks-long effort to lobby, along with other business leaders, the White House to stay in the agreement.

In making the announcement, Trump seemed to leave the door open for joining a modified global pact under terms he believes are more favorable to the U.S.

"We are getting out," Trump said at a White House ceremony. "But we will start to negotiate, and we will see if we can make a deal that's fair. And if we can, that's great."

Kann is among those who don't see a big immediate economic effect on the clean-energy movement in the U.S. as a result of the decision. He says that Americans ultimately vote with their pocketbooks, which means any clean-energy solutions that can reduce their monthly bills will continue to get support.

In the short run, withdrawing from the accord will negate the impact of possible carbon emissions fees on gas and electricity costs, economist Gregory Daco of Oxford Economics says. And Mark Zandi, chief economist of Moody's Analytics, notes the decision will likely slow job losses in fossil fuel industries, such as coal,

Musk, Iger leave Trump council over Paris exit

Marco della Cava
and Jon Swartz
USA TODAY

SAN FRANCISCO Businesses and corporate leaders were quick to react to President Trump's decision Thursday to pull the U.S. from the Paris climate agreement.



EVAN VUCCI AP
Tesla CEO
Elon Musk

economic council, which he had promised to do if the president turned his back on the consortium of nations that signed the pact pledging to fight climate change. Trump argued taxes and other measures imposed by such a group would hamper U.S. economic growth.

Musk had previously defended his decision to be a part of Trump's advisory group, ar-

guing that having the president's ear was better than having no influence at all.

Later in the day, Disney CEO Robert Iger resigned from the president's council.

Other reactions that expressed disappointment with the president's decision:

► **Facebook.** In a post on the social networking site, CEO Mark Zuckerberg said, "Withdrawing from the Paris climate agreement is bad for the environment, bad for the economy, and it puts our children's future at risk."

► **Twitter.** Jack Dorsey, CEO and co-founder of Twitter, used Trump's favorite method of communication to take him to task. "This is an incredibly shortsighted move backwards by the federal government. We're all on this planet together and we need to work together," Dorsey tweeted.

► **IBM.** The computing giant posted a message on its website "reaffirming its support" for the Paris agreement. IBM CEO Ginni Rometty is on the economic advisory council that Musk and Iger just left.

as well as job gains in renewable energy, such as solar and winds.

But, Zandi adds, employment in coal already has been shrinking in part because natural gas has become a cheaper and cleaner power source. And renewable energy already has seen job growth, partly as a result of state mandates and lower prices that have encouraged many home owners to install solar panels on their rooftops, for example. As a result, the short-term effect on U.S. employment likely would amount to just several thousand additional jobs, Zandi says.

"Why would you try to help the coal industry while reducing investment in future energy such as solar, wind and storage? This is crazy," says Mike Phillips, CEO of Sense, maker of a high-tech pow-

er-measurement device for smart homes.

Job creation in renewable energy dwarfs coal, which was an obsession with Trump on the campaign trail, Phillips says, citing a Department of Energy report in January that noted the coal industry employs about 160,000 in the U.S. and is shrinking, while jobs are growing in the areas of energy-efficiency (2.2 million), natural gas (400,000), solar (374,000) and wind (102,000).

Zandi says Trump's decision makes it less likely the U.S. will be at the forefront of clean energy innovation, possibly costing the country as many as hundreds of thousands of jobs over the next decade or two. "We're not going to lead the way," he says.

TRUMP SAYS IT PLAINLY: 'WE'RE GETTING OUT'

Gregory Korte
@gregorykorte
USA TODAY

NEWS
ANALYSIS

WASHINGTON
President Trump's decision Thursday to withdraw from the Paris climate agreement put the rest of the world on notice about a decision he had already made: to stop implementing the Obama-era poli-

In rejecting climate accord, he declares America comes first — but he's open to renegotiate

cies that would have allowed the United States to meet its commitment to reduce greenhouse gases.

But in making the long-awaited announcement, the president also added a signature Trump condition: that he would be willing to renegotiate the agreement on more favorable terms.

"So we're getting out, but we will start to negotiate, and we'll see if we can make a deal that's fair," he said.

Under the terms of the international accord to reduce green-

World leaders, scientists react

Condemnation is swift from all corners **2A**

U.S. may have given up its financial leverage **1B**

house gases, the earliest a nation can formally withdraw is November 2020 — the same month Trump faces re-election. But be-

► **STORY CONTINUES ON 2A**

Climate deal was unfair from the start, Trump says

► CONTINUED FROM 1A

cause the greenhouse gas reduction targets are largely voluntary, Trump said, he would immediately "cease all implementation of the non-binding Paris Accord."

European leaders quickly responded that the accord was "irreversible" and not open to renegotiation.

"We firmly believe that the Paris Agreement cannot be renegotiated, since it is a vital instrument for our planet, societies and economies," said a joint statement by Italian Prime Minister Paolo Gentiloni, German Chancellor Angela Merkel and French President Emmanuel Macron.

In a half-hour speech in the White House Rose Garden, Trump did not address the scientific consensus that rising global temperatures, almost certainly caused in part by human activity since the industrial revolution, are a threat to the planet. He has called that science "an expensive hoax" perpetrated by the Chinese.

Instead, Trump complained that other countries had attached too many conditions to their commitments — known as nationally determined contributions — to reduce carbon emissions. As he has with trade and immigration, Trump accused the rest of the world of taking advantage of the U.S.

"At what point do they stop laughing at us as a country? I was elected to represent the citizens of Pittsburgh, not Paris."

China, for example, said it would begin reducing emissions beginning in 2030 — meaning it could continue to build coal-fired power plants every year until then.

"In short, the agreement doesn't eliminate coal jobs, it just transfers those jobs out of America ... and ships them to foreign countries," Trump said.

Trump has made clear he views the climate accord as an obstacle to his goal of creating jobs and ensuring energy independence. In March, he signed an executive order rolling back most of the environmental regulations the Obama administration had used as a down payment toward its nationally determined contributions.

Still, the rest of the world was watching to see how far Trump would go in backing out of the deal. The White House said Trump "personally explained" his decision Thursday in a call with the leaders of Canada, France, Germany and the United Kingdom.

Trump cast the decision in terms of his campaign promise to "put America first," reasserting American sovereignty. He made his announcement in the same place where President Obama hailed the agreement as "a turning point for our planet."

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World leaders slam Trump's move



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Members of the German environmental group BUND demonstrate in Berlin on Thursday with signs reading, "Save Climate."

RAINER JENSEN, AP

Critics, supporters differ widely about withdrawal's effect

Doyle Rice
USA TODAY

President Trump's decision to pull the U.S. out of the Paris climate agreement drew the ire of top environmental and science groups Thursday, who called it a major step backward both for the climate and the country as a leader in environmental issues.

The U.S. might as well put up a "closed for business" sign up across America, said Nathaniel Keohane of the Environmental Defense Fund. "Both for symbolic and practical purposes, it signals an American leadership retreat."

Jake Schmidt of the Natural Resource Defense Council said that "stepping back from such a historic agreement means we're not prepared to be leaders on the global stage."

The 197-member Paris climate agreement requires every country to establish ambitious targets to reduce the greenhouse gases that cause global warming. Only two countries didn't sign: Nicaragua and Syria. The U.S. is the second-leading emitter of greenhouse gas emissions behind China.

Despite Trump's declaration that the Paris Accord is a bad deal for the U.S. because of the "draconian financial and economic burdens the agreement imposes on our country," Keohane said com-

panies looking to invest in clean energy such as solar and wind will just go to Europe or China instead, taking away jobs from the U.S. "The losers will be American families and workers and businesses of being at the cutting edge of clean economy," he said.

The move had its defenders.

The climate treaty "is climatically insignificant," said Patrick Michaels, a climatologist at the Cato Institute, a libertarian think tank. He said the deal would lower global warming only by less than four-tenths of degree by 2100, a finding the Massachusetts Institute of Technology reported.

In addition, private investments in technological innovation mean America already leads the world in reducing carbon dioxide emissions from power plants, Michaels said. "We did that without Paris, and we will continue our exemplary leadership without it."

Fred Palmer of the free-market think tank Heartland Institute, which has received funding from oil and gas companies, said Trump will set the U.S. down a path "where our fossil fuel resources are unleashed to power our future and drive our prosperity."

The "anti-fossil-fuel Paris Accord ... is a disastrous plan for working men and women and the country itself — and he pledged to discard it in the presidential campaign," Palmer said.

'Disappointed,' 'angry' allies vow to continue their efforts on climate

**Jessica Durando
and Oren Dorell**

USA TODAY

World leaders condemned President Trump's decision Thursday to pull out of the Paris climate agreement.

Although the president said he was willing to work for a better deal, France, Italy and Germany, said in a joint statement that the accord can not be renegotiated.

German Chancellor Angela Merkel, French President Emmanuel Macron and Italian Prime Minister Paolo Gentiloni urged allies to "speed up" efforts to fight against climate change and said they would do more to help poorer countries.

Paris City Hall was illuminated in green Thursday night after Trump's announcement.

Canadian Prime Minister Justin Trudeau took to Twitter to criticize the president's decision, saying his country is "deeply disappointed."

"We are all custodians of this world, and that is why Canada will continue to work with the U.S. at the state level, and with other U.S. stakeholders, to address climate change and promote clean growth," Trudeau said in a statement.

Scotland's First Minister Nicola Sturgeon called the decision "irresponsible."

Prime Minister of Denmark Lars Rasmussen said it was a "sad day for the world."

Former Mexican president Vicente Fox tweeted that Trump has "surrendered the hopes and future of a nation."

"He's declaring war on the planet itself," Fox added.

Belgian Prime Minister Charles Michel also weighed in: "I condemn this brutal act. ... Leadership means fighting climate change together. Not forsaking commitment."

Earlier Thursday, Russia said it supported the climate agreement. "President (Vladimir) Putin signed this convention in Paris. Russia attaches great significance to it," Kremlin spokesman Dmitry Peskov said in a call with reporters, the *Independent* reported. "At the same time, it goes without saying that the effectiveness of this convention is likely to be reduced without its key participants."

In China, premier Li Keqiang promised to work with the EU to uphold the accord, saying there is a "global consensus" and an "international responsibility" to fight climate change, the Associated Press reported. "China in recent years has stayed true to its commitment," he said in Berlin.

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Trump's Reckless Climate Decision

Bill McKibben

PEOPLE say, if all you have is a hammer, then every problem looks like a nail. We should be so lucky. President Trump has a hammer, but all he'll use it for is to smash things that others have built, as the world looks on in wonder and in fear. The latest, most troubling example is his decision to obliterate the Paris climate accord: After nearly 200 years of scientific inquiry and over 20 years of patient diplomacy that united every nation save Syria and Nicaragua, we had Thursday's big game-show Rose Garden reveal: Count us out.

It's a stupid and reckless decision — our nation's dumbest act since launching the war in Iraq. But it's not stupid and reckless in the normal way. Instead, it amounts to a thorough repudiation of two of the civilizing forces on our planet: diplomacy and science. It undercuts our civilization's chances of surviving global warming, but it also undercuts our civilization itself, since that civilization rests in large measure on those two forces.

Science first. Since the early 1800s we've been slowly but surely figuring out the mystery of how our climate operates — why our planet is warmer than it should be, given its distance from the sun. From Fourier to Foote and Tyndall, from Arrhenius to Revelle and Suess and Keeling, researchers have worked out the role that carbon dioxide and other greenhouse gases play in regulating temperature. By the 1980s, as supercomputers let us model the climate with ever greater power, we came to understand our possible fate.

And now, in this millennium, we've watched the warning start to play out. We've seen 2014 set a new global temperature record, which was smashed in 2015 and smashed again in 2016. We've watched Arctic sea ice vanish at a record pace and measured the early disintegration of Antarctica's great ice sheets. We've been able to record alarming increases in drought and flood and wildfire, and we've been able to link them directly to the greenhouse gases we've poured into the

atmosphere. This is the largest-scale example in the planet's history of the scientific method in operation, the continuing dialectic between hypothesis and skepticism that arrived eventually at a strong consensus about the most critical aspects of our planet's maintenance. Rational people the world around understand. As Bloomberg Businessweek blazoned across its cover the week after Hurricane Sandy smashed into Wall Street, "It's Global Warming, Stupid."

But now President Trump (and 22 Republican senators who wrote a letter asking him to take the step) is betting that all of that is wrong. Mr. Trump famously called global warming a hoax during the campaign, and with this decision he's wagering that he was actually right — he's calling his own bluff. No line of argument in

Quitting the Paris accord undercuts the planet's best hope.

the physical world supports his claim, and no credible authority backs him, not here and not abroad. It's telling that he simultaneously wants to cut the funding for the satellites and ocean buoys that monitor our degrading climate. The data they collect make clear his foolishness.

But it's not just science that he's blowing up. The Paris accord was a high achievement of the diplomatic art, a process much messier than science, and inevitably involving compromise and unseemly concession. Still, after decades of work, the world's negotiators managed to bring along virtually every nation: the Saudis and the low-lying Marshall Islanders, the Chinese and the Indians. One hundred and ninety-five nations negotiated the Paris accord, including the United States.

The dysfunctional American political process had already warped the process, of course. The reason Paris is a series of voluntary agreements and not a real treaty is because the world had long since

understood that no binding document would ever get two-thirds of the vote in our oil-soaked Senate. And that's despite the fact that the agreement asks very little of us: President Barack Obama's mild shift away from coal-fired power and toward higher-mileage cars would have satisfied our obligations.

Those changes, and similar ones agreed to by other nations, would not have ended global warming. They were too small. But the hope of Paris was that the treaty would send such a strong signal to the world's governments, and its capital markets, that the targets would become a floor and not a ceiling; that shaken into action by the accord, we would start moving much faster toward renewable energy, maybe even fast enough to begin catching up with the physics of global warming. There are signs that this has been happening: The plummeting price of solar energy just this spring persuaded India to forgo a huge planned expansion of coal plants in favor of more solar panel arrays to catch the sun. China is shutting coal mines as fast as it can build wind turbines.

And that's precisely the moment President Trump chose to make his move, a bid to undercut our best hope for a workable future in a bizarre attempt to restore the past. A few fossil-fuel barons may be pleased, but most of the country and the world see this for the disaster it is. Majorities in every single state, red and blue alike, wanted America to stay in the accord.

And so we will resist. As the federal government reneges on its commitments, the rest of us will double down on ours. Already cities and states are committing to 100 percent renewable energy. Atlanta was the latest. We will make sure that every leader who hesitates and waffles on climate will be seen as another Donald Trump, and we will make sure that history will judge that name with the contempt it deserves. Not just because he didn't take climate change seriously, but also because he didn't take civilization seriously. □

BILL MCKIBBEN is a founder of 350.org and teaches environmental studies at Middlebury College.

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Disappointed or Delighted, Companies React to Decision

By DANIEL VICTOR

Soon after President Trump announced that the United States would back out of the Paris climate accord, several large companies based in the United States that had supported the international pact said they were disappointed by the decision and would continue their environmental efforts.

And two chief executives who sat on Mr. Trump's economic advisory council said they were leaving that group because they disagreed with the move.

Some companies that bought full-page newspaper ads last month in support of the pact reacted quickly on Thursday. But so did others, particularly in the coal industry, that supported Mr. Trump's decision.

Tesla and SpaceX

Elon Musk, founder of Tesla and

SpaceX, said he would leave an advisory council for Mr. Trump, writing on Twitter: "Climate change is real. Leaving Paris is not good for America or the world."

Disney

Robert A. Iger, Disney's chief executive, also announced on Twitter that he would no longer be an advisory council member as "a matter of principle."

General Electric

Jeff Immelt, G.E.'s chairman and chief executive, said on Twitter that he was disappointed with Mr. Trump's decision, adding, "Industry must now lead and not depend on government."

Facebook

Mark Zuckerberg, the chief executive, wrote on his Facebook page that withdrawing was "bad

for the environment, bad for the economy, and it puts our children's future at risk."

Twitter and Square

Jack Dorsey, the chief executive of both companies, also took to Twitter, where he wrote: "This is an incredibly shortsighted move backwards by the federal government. We're all on this planet together and we need to work together."

Google

On Twitter, Sundar Pichai, the chief executive, said that the company would "keep working hard for a cleaner, more prosperous future for all."

Goldman Sachs

Lloyd Blankfein, the chief executive, addressed the exit from the accord in his first tweet, saying, "Today's decision is a setback for

the environment and for the U.S.'s leadership position in the world."

Microsoft

In a statement, Brad Smith, Microsoft's president, said in part that participation "benefits U.S. businesses and the economy in important and multiple ways," like strengthening competitiveness and creating new markets for clean technologies. He concluded, "Our experience shows us that these investments and innovations are good for our planet, our company, our customers and the economy."

Amazon

The company wrote in a series of tweets:

"Amazon continues to support the Paris climate agreement and action on climate change. We believe that robust clean energy and climate policies can support

American competitiveness, innovation, and job growth. We remain committed to putting our scale and inventive culture to work in ways that are good for the environment and our customers."

Murray Energy

The Ohio-based company, one of the country's largest coal producers, praised the decision. The chief executive, Robert E. Murray, said in a statement:

"In following through on his promise, President Trump is supporting America's uncompromising values, saving coal jobs, and promoting low-cost, reliable electricity for Americans and the rest of the world."

IBM

"IBM supported — and still supports — U.S. participation in the Paris Agreement," it said in a statement, adding:

"IBM believes that it is easier to lead outcomes by being at the table, as a participant in the agreement, rather than from outside it."

Shell

"Our support for the #Paris-Agreement is well known," Shell wrote on Twitter, adding that the company would "continue to do our part providing more & cleaner energy."

Peabody Energy

The company, a multinational coal-mining giant based in St. Louis, supported Mr. Trump's decision. The company said:

"We believe that abiding by the accord, without significant changes, would have substantially impacted the U.S. economy, increased electricity costs and required the power sector to rely on less diverse and more intermittent energy."

Rejecting Popular Deal, The President Bets Big On His Core Supporters

By PETER BAKER

WASHINGTON — By a ratio of more than five to one, Americans in one recent poll said the United States should participate in the Paris climate change agreement that President Trump pulled out of on Thursday. Even a majority of Republicans agreed.

But in Mr. Trump's calculation, withdrawing from the accord will be a political winner.

The decision highlighted Mr. Trump's broader political gamble as he seeks to build a presidency that can succeed in midterm elections next year and, ultimately, in 2020 when he is up for re-election. It is a strategy predicated not on attracting new supporters, but on cultivating the narrower conservative base that delivered him to the White House.

Not everyone in the White House agrees with this approach. But when it came to the Paris accord, Mr. Trump accepted the argument advanced by Stephen K. Bannon, his chief strategist, that he must stick to his nationalist and populist roots or jeopardize his political future. Mr. Trump is not going to win over Democrats and most independents, Mr. Bannon maintained, so the imperative is to retain the voters who pulled the lever for him last year.

This is a daring and risky strategy for a president whose job approval rating remains stuck around 40 percent in many polls. Most presidents seek to widen their support while in office, reaching out to the center — if not to the other party. Mr. Trump, however, is the first president in

isolated in the world," he said.

Douglas E. Schoen, another longtime political strategist and Fox News contributor, said pulling out of the Paris accord would not produce jobs for Mr. Trump's supporters. "Not good for his base to be further alienated from Europeans, to appear separate, different and out of sync with the world," Mr. Schoen said.

But Democrats have long pointed to surveys showing lopsided support for environmental action by government — only to discover that it does not necessarily win elections for them. Americans may favor rules intended to curb the emissions blamed for climate change and encourage the use of renewable fuels. But on Election Day, such issues are often not the determining factor in their decisions.

The latest Gallup survey shows that only 2 percent of Americans listed the environment or pollution as the most important problem facing the country today, while 21 percent cited economic issues. And so, as he announced his decision in the Rose Garden on Thursday, Mr. Trump cast it as a question of guarding the American economy. By walking away from the pact, he asserted he would save American jobs.

"The first thing the American electorate is looking for is a focus on economic issues," said David Winston, a Republican pollster. "They want it discussed. They want a sense that it's a priority."

Matt Schlapp, the chairman of the American Conservative Union, said Americans generally want to do what they consider the right thing, and therefore tell surveyors that the United States should combat climate change. But he said it was a meaningless question.

"The follow-up is key," he said. "Knowing the solution proposed is to price carbon higher or tax it, are you willing to pay more for your utilities and to fill your tank, or are you willing to shed U.S. jobs?"

"It becomes a political loser."

Supporters of the Paris accord argue that the supposed political costs are exaggerated and the benefits are overlooked in the interest of scaring voters. They can point to some polls showing support even among Trump voters for some of the specific policies that

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International
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An approach that
not all in the White
House agree with.

the history of polling to govern without the support of a majority of the public from the start of his tenure. In effect, Mr. Trump is doubling down on presiding as a minority president, betting that when the time comes, his fervent supporters will matter more, especially clustered in key Midwest states.

An approach that not all in the White House agree with.

the history of polling to govern without the support of a majority of the public from the start of his tenure. In effect, Mr. Trump is doubling down on presiding as a minority president, betting that when the time comes, his fervent supporters will matter more, especially clustered in key Midwest states.

"There is no question it helps Trump with his base," said Glen Bolger, a Republican pollster. "Trump voters believe that the world is out to get us and that we would be the only country to live up to the accords. Therefore, America would lose and the rest of the world would laugh at us.

"Obviously, it makes Clinton voters hate him even more, but from a political calculation standpoint, the White House does not and should not care," Mr. Bolger said.

Other political specialists, including some Republicans, consider that a miscalculation. The same poll showing large majorities supporting Paris, conducted this month by Yale University's climate change program, found that even among Trump voters, more supported staying in the accord than not, 47 percent to 28 percent.

"Of all the things he might do to solidify his base, withdrawing from the Paris agreement is pretty far down the list in importance, and for a president at 40 percent approval, it is hard to argue that solidifying his die-hards is his most critical need right now," said Geoffrey Garin, a Democratic pollster who has advised Hillary Clinton as well as environmental groups.

Mr. Garin said the danger for Mr. Trump is that he might turn off the college-educated voters who turned to him in the late stages of last year's election. "These college-educated Trump voters do not want the United States to be

surveyors that the United States should combat climate change. But he said it was a meaningless question.

"The follow-up is key," he said. "Knowing the solution proposed is to price carbon higher or tax it, are you willing to pay more for your utilities and to fill your tank, or are you willing to shed U.S. jobs?"

"It becomes a political loser."

Supporters of the Paris accord argue that the supposed political costs are exaggerated and the benefits are overlooked in the interest of scaring voters. They can point to some polls showing support even among Trump voters for some of the specific policies that have been promoted to curb climate change.

Nonetheless, the White House assumption is that Mr. Trump's supporters care more about seeing him fighting on their behalf. He won last fall even having denounced climate change as a "hoax" that is perpetrated alternately by scientists, liberals or China. So withdrawing from the Paris deal should not meaningfully change that political calculus, in this view.

Given the president's troubles over the investigations into ties with Russia and his firing of the F.B.I. director, Mr. Bannon's wing argued that it was more important than ever to fulfill the campaign promises that energized his core supporters. The notion that Mr. Trump should preserve the Paris accord in a misguided effort to curry favor with corporations and environmentally minded liberals was self-defeating, Mr. Bannon and his allies contended.

By this reasoning, Mr. Trump can afford to lose voters in liberal California or on the East Coast and still eke out another Electoral College victory by focusing intently on what he sees as the needs of battleground states like Ohio, Pennsylvania, Wisconsin and Michigan that put him over the top last year even without the popular vote. What he cannot afford is to lose those who still stand by him.

At least that is the bet. And it is a choice he will continue to face on other issues in the weeks and months to come.

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A Disgraceful Exit From the Paris Pact

Only future generations will be able to calculate the full consequences of President Trump's incredibly shortsighted approach to climate change, since it is they who will suffer the rising seas and crippling droughts that scientists say are inevitable unless the world brings fossil fuel emissions to heel.

But this much is clear now: Mr. Trump's policies — the latest of which was his decision to withdraw from the 2015 Paris agreement on climate change — have dismayed America's allies, defied the wishes of much of the American business community he pretends to help, threatened America's competitiveness as well as job growth in crucial industries and squandered what was left of America's claim to leadership on an issue of global importance.

The only clear winners, and we've looked hard to find them, are hard-core climate deniers like Scott Pruitt at the Environmental Protection Agency and the presidential adviser Stephen Bannon, and various fossil fuel interests that have found in Mr. Trump another president (George W. Bush being the last) credulous enough to swallow the bogus argument that an agreement to fight climate change will destroy or at least inhibit the economy.

Mr. Trump justified his decision by saying that the Paris agreement was a bad deal for the United States, buttressing his argument with a cornucopia of dystopian, dishonest and discredited data based on numbers from industry-friendly sources. Those numbers are nonsense, as is his argument

that the agreement would force the country to make enormous economic sacrifices and cause a huge redistribution of jobs and economic resources to the rest of the world.

In truth, the agreement does not require any country to do anything; after the failure of the 1997 Kyoto Accord, the United Nations, which oversees climate change negotiations, decided that it simply did not have the authority to force a legally binding agreement. Instead, negotiators in Paris aimed for, and miraculously achieved, a voluntary agreement, under which more than 190 countries offered aspirational emissions targets, pledged their best efforts to meet them and agreed to give periodic updates on how they were doing.

Paris did not, in short, legally constrain Mr. Trump from doing the dumb things he wanted to do. Which he already has. In the last few months, and without consulting a single foreign leader, he has ordered rollbacks of every one of the policies on which President Barack Obama based his ambitious pledge to reduce America's greenhouse gas emissions by 26 percent to 28 percent below 2005 levels by 2025 — most prominently, policies aimed at reducing greenhouse gases from coal-fired power plants, automobiles and oil and gas wells.

But if withdrawing from the agreement will not make Mr. Trump's domestic policies any worse than they are, it is still a terrible decision that could have enormous consequences globally. In huge neon letters, it sends a clear message that this president knows nothing or cares little about the science underlying the stark warnings of environmental disruption. That he knows or cares little about the problems that disruption could bring, especially in poor countries. That he is unmindful that America, historically the world's biggest emitter of carbon dioxide, has a special obligation to help the rest of the world address these issues. That he is oblivious to the further damage this will cause to his already tattered relationship with the European allies. That his malfeasance might now prompt other countries that signed the accord to withdraw from the agreement, or rethink their emissions pledges.

Perhaps most astonishing of all, a chief executive who touts himself as a shrewd businessman, and who ran on a promise of jobs for the middle class and making America great again, seems blind to the damage this will do to America's own economic interests. The world's gradual transition from fossil fuels has opened up a huge global market, estimated to be \$6 trillion by 2030, for renewable fuels like wind and solar, for electric cars, for advanced batteries and other technologies.

America's private sector clearly understands this opportunity, which is why, in January, 630 businesses and investors — with names like DuPont, Hewlett Packard and Pacific Gas and Electric — signed an open letter to then-President-elect Trump and Congress, calling on them to continue supporting low-carbon policies, investment in a low-carbon economy and American participation in the Paris agreement. It is also why Elon Musk, chief executive of the electric vehicle maker Tesla, was resigning from two presidential advisory councils after Mr. Trump announced the withdrawal from Paris.

Yet Mr. Trump clings to the same false narrative that congressional Republicans have been peddling for years and that Mr. Trump's minions, like Mr. Pruitt at the E.P.A. and Ryan Zinke at the Interior Department, are peddling now (Mr. Pruitt to the coal miners, Mr. Zinke to Alaskans) — that environmental regulations are job killers, that efforts to curb carbon dioxide emissions will hurt the economy, that the way forward lies in fossil fuels, in digging still more coal and punching still more holes in the ground in the search for more oil.

As alternative realities and fake facts go, that argument is something to behold. For one thing, it fails to account for the significant economic benefits of reducing greenhouse gases, avoiding damage to human health and the environment. And it ignores extensive research showing that reducing carbon emissions can in fact drive economic growth. Partly because of investments in cleaner fuels, partly because of revolutionary improvements in efficiency standards for appliances and buildings, carbon dioxide emissions in this country actually fell nearly 12 percent in the last decade, even as the overall economy kept growing. Under Mr. Obama's supposedly job-killing regulations, more than 11.3 million jobs were created, compared with two million-plus under Mr. Bush's antiregulatory regime.

It's true that the coal industry is losing jobs, largely a result of competition from cheaper natural gas, but the renewable fuels industry is going gangbusters: Employment in the solar industry, for instance, is more than 10 times what it was a decade ago, 260,000 jobs as opposed to 24,000.

Therein lies one ray of hope that the United States, whatever Mr. Trump does, will continue to do its part in controlling greenhouse gas emissions. Market forces all seem to be headed in the right direction. Technologies are improving. The business community is angry. A Gallup poll found that nearly two-thirds of Americans are worried about climate change, and the Yale Program on Climate Change Communication found that almost 70 percent of Americans wanted to stay in the agreement, including half of Trump voters.

And some states are moving aggressively, including New York. On Wednesday, the State Senate in California, always a leader in environmental matters, passed a bill that seeks to put California on a path to 100 percent renewable energy by midcentury. On the same day, Exxon Mobil stockholders won a crucial vote requiring the company to start accounting for the impact of climate change policies on its business.

These messages might be lost on Mr. Trump. Hopefully, not on the world.

Mr. Trump's decision on the climate change agreement sends a clear message: He cares little about science, our allies and future generations.

Trump's Act Of Gratuitous Destruction

AS DONALD TRUMP does his best to destroy the world's hopes of reining in climate change, let's be clear about one thing: This has nothing to do with serving America's national interest. The U.S. economy, in particular, would do just fine under the Paris accord. This isn't about nationalism; mainly, it's about sheer spite.

About the economics: At this point, I think, we have a pretty good idea of what a low-emissions economy would look like. I'm sure that energy experts will disagree on the details, but the broad outline isn't hard to describe.

Clearly, it would be an economy running on electricity — electric cars, electric heat, with internal combustion engines rare. The bulk of that electricity would, in turn, come from nonpolluting sources: wind, solar and, yes, probably nuclear.

Of course, sometimes the wind doesn't blow or the sun shine when people want power. But there are multiple ways to deal with that issue: a robust grid that can ship electricity to where it's needed; storage of various forms (batteries, but also maybe things like pumped hydro); dynamic pricing that encourages customers to use less power when it's scarce and more when it isn't; and some surge capacity — probably from relatively low-emission natural-gas-fired generators — to cope with whatever mismatch remains.

What would life in an economy that made such an energy transition be like? Almost indistinguishable from life in the economy we have now.

People would still drive cars, live in houses that were heated in the winter

*On climate, it's all about
conservative spite.*

and cooled in the summer, and watch videos about superheroes and funny cats. There would be a lot of wind turbines and solar panels, but most of us would ignore them the same way we currently ignore the smokestacks of conventional power plants.

Wouldn't energy be more expensive in this alternative economy? Probably, but not by much: Technological progress in solar and wind has drastically reduced their cost, and it looks as if the same thing is starting to happen with energy storage.

Meanwhile, there would be compensating benefits. Notably, the adverse health effects of air pollution would be greatly reduced, and it's quite possible that lower health care costs would all by

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health effects of air pollution would be greatly reduced, and it's quite possible that lower health care costs would all by themselves make up for the costs of energy transition, even ignoring the whole saving-civilization-from-catastrophic-climate-change thing.

The point is that while tackling climate change in the way envisaged by the Paris accord used to look like a hard engineering and economic problem, these days it looks fairly easy. We have almost all the technology we need, and can be quite confident of developing the rest. Obviously the transition to a low-emissions economy, the phasing out of fossil fuels, would take time, but that would be O.K. as long as the path was clear.

Why, then, are so many people on the right determined to block climate action, and even trying to sabotage the progress we've been making on new energy sources?

Don't tell me that they're honestly worried about the inherent uncertainty of climate projections. All long-term policy choices must be made in the face of an uncertain future (duh); there's as much scientific consensus here as you're ever likely to see on any issue. And in this case, uncertainty arguably strengthens the case for action, because the costs of getting it wrong are asymmetric: Do too much, and we've wasted some money; do too little, and we've doomed civilization.

Don't tell me that it's about coal miners. Anyone who really cared about those miners would be crusading to protect their health, disability and pension benefits, and trying to provide alternative employment opportunities — not pretending that environmental irresponsibility will somehow bring back jobs lost to strip mining and mountaintop removal.

While it isn't about coal jobs, right-wing anti-environmentalism is in part about protecting the profits of the coal industry, which in 2016 gave 97 percent of its political contributions to Republicans.

As I said, however, these days the fight against climate action is largely driven by sheer spite.

Pay any attention to modern right-wing discourse — including op-ed articles by top Trump officials — and you find deep hostility to any notion that some problems require collective action beyond shooting people and blowing things up.

Beyond this, much of today's right seems driven above all by animus toward liberals rather than specific issues. If liberals are for it, they're against it. If liberals hate it, it's good. Add to this the anti-intellectualism of the G.O.P. base, for whom scientific consensus on an issue is a minus, not a plus, with extra bonus points for undermining anything associated with President Barack Obama.

And if all this sounds too petty and vindictive to be the basis for momentous policy decisions, consider the character of the man in the White House. Need I say more? □

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Giving China A Void to Fill

By DAVID E. SANGER
and JANE PERLEZ

WASHINGTON — President Trump has managed to turn America First into America Isolated.

In pulling out of the Paris climate accord, Mr. Trump has created a vacuum of global leadership that presents ripe opportunities to allies and adversaries alike to reorder the world's power structure. His decision is perhaps the greatest strategic gift to the Chinese, who are eager to fill the void that Washington is leaving around the world on everything from setting the rules of trade and environmental standards to financing the infrastructure projects that give Beijing vast influence.

Mr. Trump's remarks in the Rose Garden on Thursday were also a retreat from leadership on the one issue, climate change, that unified America's European allies, its rising superpower competitor in the Pacific, and even some of its adversaries, including Iran. He did it over the objections of much of the American business community and his secretary of state, Rex W. Tillerson, who embraced the Paris accord when he ran Exxon Mobil, less out of a sense of moral responsibility and more as part of the new price of doing business around the world.

As Mr. Trump announced his decision, the Paris agreement's goals were conspicuously reaffirmed by both friends and rivals, including nations where it would have the most impact, like China and India, as well as the major European Union states and Russia.

The announcement came only days after he declined to give his NATO allies a forceful reaffirmation of America's commitment to their security, and a few months after he abandoned a trade deal,

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Trump's Move on Paris Deal Gives China a Global Void to Fill

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the Trans-Pacific Partnership, that was designed to put the United States at the center of a trade group that would compete with — and, some argue, contain — China's fast-growing economic might.

"The irony here is that people worried that Trump would come in and make the world safe for Russian meddling," said Richard N. Haass, the president of the Council on Foreign Relations, who was briefly considered, then rejected, for a top post in the new administration. "He may yet do that," Mr. Haass added, "but he has certainly made the world safe for Chinese influence."

The president, and his defenders, argue that such views are held by an elite group of globalists who have lost sight of the essential element of American power: economic growth. Mr. Trump made that argument explicitly in the Rose Garden with his contention that the Paris accord amounted to nothing more than "a massive redistribution of United States wealth to other countries."

In short, he turned the concept of the agreement on its head. While President Barack Obama argued that the United Nations Green Climate Fund — a financial institution to help poorer nations combat the effects of climate change — would benefit the world, Mr. Trump argued that the American donations to the fund, which he halted, would

beggar the country.

"Our withdrawal from the agreement represents a reassertion of America's sovereignty," Mr. Trump said.

That, in short, encapsulates how Mr. Trump's view of preserving American power differs from all of his predecessors, back to President Harry S. Truman. His proposed cuts to contributions to the United Nations and to American foreign aid are based on a presumption that only economic and military power count. "Soft power" — investments in alliances and broader global projects — are, in his view, designed to drain influence, not add to it, evident in the fact that he did not include the State Department among the agencies that are central to national security, and thus require budget increases.

It will take years to determine the long-term effects of his decision to abandon the Paris agreement, to the environment and to the global order. It will not break alliances: Europe is hardly about to embrace a broken, corrupt Russia, and China's neighbors are simultaneously drawn to its immense wealth and repelled by its self-interested ambitions.

But Mr. Trump has added to the arguments of leaders around the world that it is time to rebalance their portfolios by effectively selling some of their stock in Washington. Chancellor Angela Merkel of Germany has already announced her plan to hedge her bets, declaring last weekend after meeting Mr. Trump that she had realized "the times when we could completely rely on others are, to an extent, over."

That may be temporary: It is still possible that Mr. Trump's announcement on Thursday will

amount to a blip in history, a withdrawal that takes so long — four years — that it could be reversed after the next presidential election. But for now it leaves the United States declaring that it is better outside the accord than in, a position that, besides America, has so far only been taken by Syria and Nicaragua. (Syria did not sign on because it is locked in civil war, Nicaragua because it believes the world's richest nations did not sacrifice enough.)

But it is the relative power balance with China that absorbs anyone who studies the dance of great powers. Even before Mr. Trump's announcement, President Xi Jinping had figured out

how to embrace the rhetoric, if not the substance, of global leadership.

Mr. Xi is no free trader, and his nation has overtaken the United States as the greatest emitter of carbon by a factor of two. Only three years ago, it was a deal between Mr. Obama and Mr. Xi that laid the groundwork for what became the broader Paris agreement.

Yet for months the Chinese president has been stepping unto the breach, including giving speeches at the annual meeting of the World Economic Forum in Davos, Switzerland, that made it sound like China alone was ready to adopt the role of global standard-setter that Washington has

occupied since the end of World War II.

"What the Paris accord represented, in a fractured world, was finally some international consensus, led by two big polluters, China and the United States, on a common course of action," said Graham T. Allison, the author of a new book, "Destined For War: Can America and China Escape Thucydides's Trap?"

"What you'd expect us to do is sustain our position by maintaining our most important relationship around the world and address what the citizens of our allies consider their most important problems: economic growth and an environment that sustains their children and grand-

children," he added. "Instead, we are absenting the field."

That sentiment was evident on Thursday in Berlin. Just hours before Mr. Trump spoke, China's premier, Li Keqiang, stood alongside Ms. Merkel, and used careful words as he described China as a champion of the accord. China believed that fighting climate change was an "international responsibility," Mr. Li said, the kind of declaration that American diplomats have made for years when making the case to combat terrorism or nuclear proliferation or hunger.

China has long viewed the possibility of a partnership with Europe as a balancing strategy against the United States. Now, with Mr. Trump questioning the basis of NATO, the Chinese are hoping that their partnership with Europe on the climate accord may allow that relationship to come to fruition faster than their grand strategy imagined.

Naturally, the Chinese are using the biggest weapon in their quiver: Money. Their plan, known as "One Belt, One Road," is meant to buy China influence from Ethiopia to Britain, from Malaysia to Hungary, all the while refashioning the global economic order.

Mr. Xi announced the sweeping initiative last month, envisioning spending \$1 trillion on huge infrastructure projects across Africa, Asia and Europe. It is a plan with echoes of the Marshall Plan and other American efforts at aid and investment, but on a scale with little precedent in modern history. And the clear subtext is that it is past time to toss out the rules of aging, American-dominated international institutions, and to conduct commerce on China's terms.



DOUG MILLS/THE NEW YORK TIMES

President Trump said withdrawing from the accord was "a reassertion of America's sovereignty."

David E. Sanger reported from Washington, and Jane Perlez from Beijing. Alissa J. Rubin contributed reporting from Paris, and Somali Sengupta from the United Nations.

Defiant Other Countries Reaffirm Fight Against Climate Change

This article is by Somini Sengupta, Melissa Eddy and Chris Buckley.

UNITED NATIONS — Leaders from around the world maintained a defiant front on Thursday after President Trump announced that he would withdraw the United States from the Paris Agreement.

Emmanuel Macron of France, speaking in English before switching to French, said he believed Mr. Trump was making a mistake. He then extended an offer to Americans:

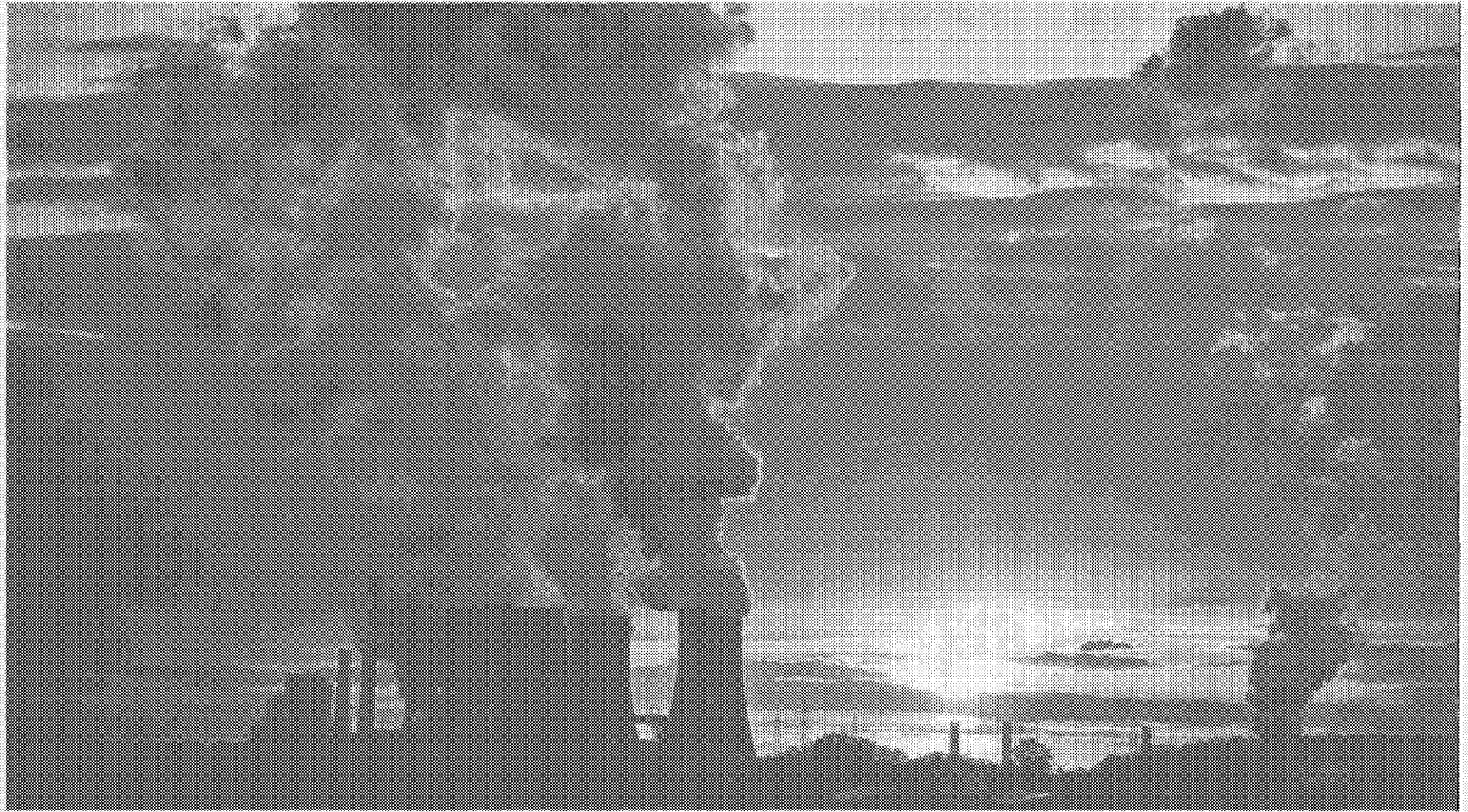
"Tonight, I wish to tell the United States: France believes in you; the world believes in you. I know that you are a great nation. I know your history, our common history. To all scientists, engineers, entrepreneurs, responsible citizens who were disappointed by the decision of the president of the United States, I want to say that they will find in France a second home."

"I can assure you," Mr. Macron added, "France will not give up the fight." He capped off his English remarks with a twist on Mr. Trump's campaign slogan: "Make our planet great again."

China made a point of saying that it would stay in the accord, while Mr. Macron and the leaders of Germany and Italy issued a joint statement expressing "regret" and rejecting Mr. Trump's assertion that he would renegotiate the deal.

"We therefore reaffirm our strongest commitment to swiftly implement the Paris Agreement, including its climate finance goals, and we encourage all our partners to speed up their action to combat climate change," the statement said.

Mr. Trump, in an address at the White House Rose Garden, said



FEDERICO GAMBARINI/DPA, VIA ASSOCIATED PRESS

Smoke over a German power plant. Leaders of countries rich and poor said they would stick to the Paris climate accord as President Trump promised to exit it.

"political message" of help from rich countries to poor countries that had done little to wreck the atmosphere. Countries decide how much they want to give, and former President Barack Obama pledged last year to contribute \$3

China, the world's biggest emitter of carbon dioxide, stands to gain international credit for standing by the Paris Agreement, but it would not be able to fill the void on its own if the United States abandoned the treaty.

may expect China to play a leading role," he said. "But in my view, China doesn't have the capacity to single-handedly play the role of global hero. Instead, we'll need to work closely with the European Union and the Basic countries," he

The one exception to the chorus of criticism came from Poland, whose economy is heavily dependent on coal and whose conservative government has been a vocal critic of European climate policies.

could not fathom why the White House would join the tiny clique of nations — like Syria and Nicaragua — that had not signed the accord. The last time the United States' standing had fallen so low was during its invasion of

goals, and we encourage our partners to speed up their action to combat climate change," the statement said.

Mr. Trump, in an address at the White House Rose Garden, said he wanted better terms for the United States. "We are getting out," he said. "But we will start to negotiate, and we will see if we can make a deal that's fair. And if we can, that's great."

Christiana Figueres, the former United Nations official who led the negotiations, said his remarks underscored a lack of understanding of how international agreements worked. Under the accord, the United States cannot even submit its intention to withdraw until November 2019, after which the process would take a year.

"You cannot renegotiate individually," she said. "It's a multilateral agreement. No one country can unilaterally change the conditions."

Other reactions were more blunt. The Belgian prime minister, Charles Michel, called the American decision "a brutal act."

Mary Robinson, a former president of Ireland and United Nations special envoy, said: "The U.S. reneging on its commitment to the Paris Agreement renders it a rogue state." Miguel Arias Cañete, the European Union's commissioner for climate, said that Mr. Trump's decision had "galvanized us" and promised that "this vacuum will be filled by new broad committed leadership."

In his address, Mr. Trump also took aim at the Green Climate Fund, designed to help poor nations deal with the havoc of climate change, calling it a scheme to redistribute wealth. Ms. Figueres described the fund as a

Somini Sengupta reported from the United Nations, Melissa Eddy from Berlin and Chris Buckley from Beijing. Reporting was contributed by Joanna Berendt from Warsaw, Aurelien Breeden from Paris, Stephen Castle from London, Jason Horowitz from Rome, James Kanter from Brussels and Dom Phillips from Rio de Janeiro.

rich countries to poor countries that had done little to wreck the atmosphere. Countries decide how much they want to give, and former President Barack Obama pledged last year to contribute \$3 billion.

The secretary general of the United Nations, António Guterres, called the White House move "a major disappointment," and while he said nothing specifically about a renegotiation, he suggested that countries and businesses all over the world had already made advances based on the agreement.

"The transformation envisaged in the Paris Agreement is already underway," he said in a statement. "The secretary general remains confident that cities, states and businesses within the United States — along with other countries — will continue to demonstrate vision and leadership by working for the low-carbon resilient economic growth that will create quality jobs and markets for 21st-century prosperity."

Victoria Tauli-Corpuz, the United Nations special rapporteur for indigenous people, said Mr. Trump's decision would punish those who were least to blame and the most vulnerable.

"We are already seeing climate change destroy lives, livelihoods and entire communities," she said in an email. "While indigenous peoples are often the first to feel these effects because of where we live, the entire planet will suffer as a result of history's largest emitter retreating on climate change."

Before the announcement, United Nations envoys from rich and poor countries alike said they were sticking to the agreement, with or without the United States. New diplomatic alliances were forming, with Europe, India and China pledging to uphold their end of the deal.

Premier Li Keqiang of China, in Berlin for meetings with Chancellor Angela Merkel, said on Thursday that his country remained committed to the fight against climate change and to participating in international efforts for a greener world.

China doesn't have the capacity to gain international credit for standing by the Paris Agreement, but it would not be able to fill the void on its own if the United States abandoned the treaty.

"China will continue to uphold its commitments to the Paris climate agreement," Mr. Li said, confirming a position his country agreed to alongside the United States in 2014, in what proved to be a watershed moment for the passage of the landmark accord the next year.

After his meetings in Berlin, Mr. Li will head to Brussels for a summit meeting with European Union leaders. They are expected to announce a number of measures deepening joint cooperation on climate protection.

If the United States does withdraw, "the system of global climate governance won't totally collapse, but it will be shaken," said Zhang Haibin, a professor at Peking University who studies international environmental politics.

"The international community

China doesn't have the capacity to single-handedly play the role of global hero. Instead, we'll need to work closely with the European Union and the Basic countries," he said, referring to a negotiating bloc that includes Brazil, South Africa, India and China.

"Collective leadership will be more important," he said.

Ms. Merkel, who welcomed the Chinese commitment as "encouraging," has been a leader in the global push for climate action since 1992, when she played a crucial international role in the passage of the world's first climate treaty, the Kyoto Protocol.

She pointed to future cooperation between Brussels and Beijing, making clear the similar intention in Europe to move ahead with potential partners to fill any vacuum created by Washington's absence.

Ms. Merkel and India's prime minister, Narendra Modi, pledged their support for the climate accord during meetings in Berlin on Wednesday.

whose economy is heavily dependent on coal and whose conservative government has been a vocal critic of European climate policies.

Grzegorz Tobiszowski, the country's deputy energy minister, commended Mr. Trump's decision as he was signing an agreement on developing a new hard-coal-fired power unit in Jaworzno, a city in southern Poland and one of the most polluted regions in Europe.

Yet even some of Washington's most reliable allies warned that the United States would find itself isolated on the international stage.

Prime Minister Theresa May of Britain expressed her disappointment in a telephone call to Mr. Trump, according to a statement from her office. In the call, Ms. May reaffirmed her government's commitment to the agreement, according to a spokesman.

At the United Nations headquarters in New York, several Western diplomats said they

nations — like Syria and Nicaragua — that had not signed the accord. The last time the United States' standing had fallen so low was during its invasion of Iraq, several said.

"Humanity is at a fork in the road," said Kai Sauer, the ambassador from Finland. "One hundred and ninety countries going on one path, and the United States, Syria, Nicaragua going on another? It seems a bit strange. This definitely also changes how we are looking at the United States."

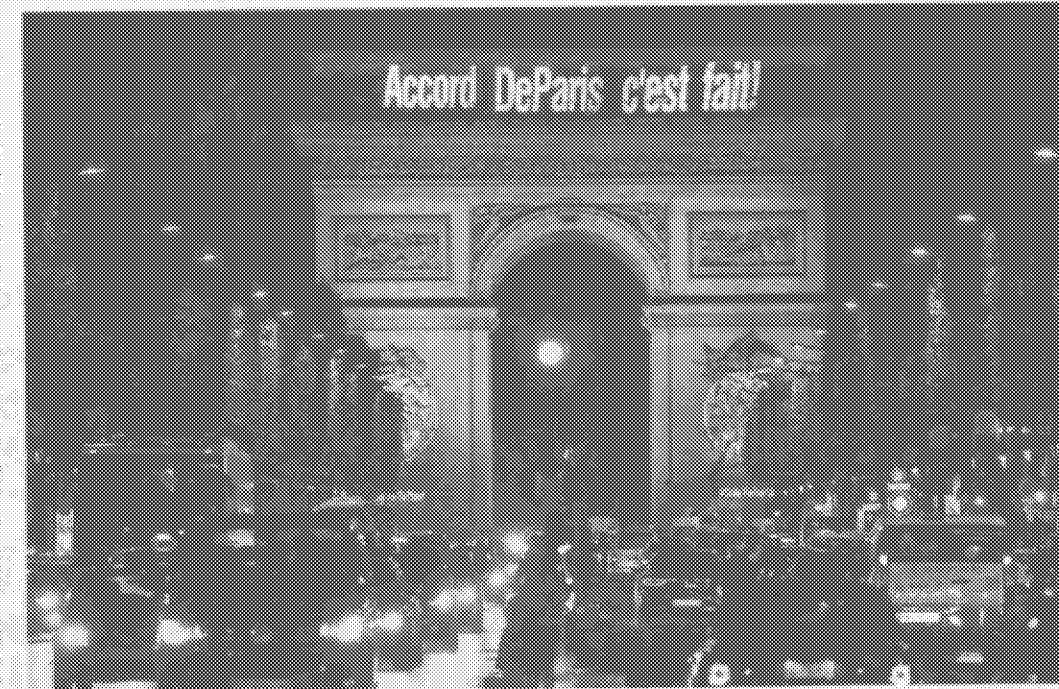
Already, the United States is likely to miss the climate-related pledges that it made just last year because of policies set in motion by the Trump administration. So who can make up the difference? Perhaps the biggest surprise comes from India, which just a couple of years ago insisted that it needed to burn much more coal in order to lift its people out of poverty.

Since then, India has sharply slowed the expansion of its coal-fired plants, and although coal use will most certainly rise, according to experts, the Indian government has said that in another 10 years, it might not need to build any more coal plants.

Navroz K. Dubash, a climate change expert with the Center for Policy Research in New Delhi, said planned coal projects were struggling to obtain financing in India because of uncertainty over the regulatory environment, and most were unlikely to get off the ground.

Solar and wind power prices have fallen sharply, making them far more competitive sources of energy for a poor country. And India has said it aims to sell only electric cars by 2030.

After the White House announcement, Mr. Dubash called Mr. Trump's claims baffling: "Stating that the Paris Agreement hamstring the U.S. while allowing India and China to increase their emissions is baffling. The agreement allows every country to choose its pledge tailored to its national circumstances."



Last fall, the Arc de Triomphe in Paris carried a celebratory message: "The Paris accord is done!"

Win for Isolationists; Condemnation Is Widespread

By MICHAEL D. SHEAR

WASHINGTON — President Trump announced on Thursday that the United States would withdraw from the Paris climate accord, weakening efforts to combat global warming and embracing isolationist voices in his White House who argued that the agreement was a pernicious threat to the economy and American sovereignty.

In a speech from the Rose Garden, Mr. Trump said the landmark 2015 pact imposed wildly unfair environmental standards on American businesses and workers. He vowed to stand with the people of the United States against what he called a "draconian" international deal.

"I was elected to represent the citizens of Pittsburgh, not Paris," the president said, drawing support from members of his Republican Party but widespread condemnation from political leaders, business executives and environmentalists around the globe.

Mr. Trump's decision to abandon the agreement for environmental action signed by 195 nations is a remarkable rebuke to heads of state, climate activists, corporate executives and members of the president's own staff, who all failed to change his mind with an intense, last-minute lobbying blitz. The Paris agreement was intended to bind the world community into battling rising temperatures in concert, and the departure of the Earth's second-largest polluter is a major blow.

Mr. Trump said he wanted to negotiate a better deal for the United States, and the administration said he had placed calls to the leaders of Britain, France, Germany and Canada to personally explain his decision. A statement from the White House press secretary said the president "reassured the leaders that America remains committed to the trans-Atlantic alliance and to robust efforts to

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Trump Abandons Paris Agreement to Widespread Condemnation

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protect the environment."

But within minutes of the president's remarks, the leaders of France, Germany and Italy issued a joint statement saying that the Paris climate accord was "irreversible" and could not be renegotiated.

The decision was a victory for Stephen K. Bannon, Mr. Trump's chief strategist, and Scott Pruitt, the Environmental Protection Agency administrator, who spent months quietly making their case to the president about the dangers of the agreement. Inside the West Wing, the pair overcame intense opposition from other top aides, including Gary D. Cohn, the director of the National Economic Council, the president's daughter Ivanka Trump, and his secretary of state, Rex Tillerson.

Ms. Trump, in particular, fought to make sure that her father heard from people supportive of the agreement, setting up calls and meetings with world leaders, corporate executives and others. But by Thursday, aides who pushed to remain part of the agreement were disconsolate, and it was Mr. Pruitt whom the president brought up for victory remarks at the Rose Garden event.

The president's speech was his boldest and most sweeping assertion of an "America first" foreign policy doctrine since he assumed office four months ago. He vowed to turn the country's empathy inward, rejecting financial assistance for pollution controls in developing nations in favor of providing help to American cities struggling to hire police officers.

"It would once have been unthinkable that an international



JUSTIN MERRIMAN/GETTY IMAGES

Coal miners at the Harvey Mine in Sycamore, Pa., waited for Scott Pruitt, the Environmental Protection Agency administrator, to arrive for a press event in April.

viding help to American cities struggling to hire police officers.

"It would once have been unthinkable that an international agreement could prevent the United States from conducting its own domestic affairs," Mr. Trump said.

In Mr. Trump's view, the Paris accord represents an attack on the sovereignty of the United States and a threat to the ability of his administration to reshape the nation's environmental laws in ways that benefit everyday Americans.

"At what point does America get demeaned? At what point do they start laughing at us as a country?" Mr. Trump said. "We don't want other leaders and other countries laughing at us anymore. And they won't be."

But business leaders like Elon Musk of Tesla, Jeffrey R. Immelt of General Electric and Lloyd C. Blankfein of Goldman Sachs said the decision would ultimately harm the economy by ceding the jobs of the future in clean energy and technology to overseas competitors.

Mr. Musk, who had agreed to be a member of a two business-related councils that Mr. Trump set up this year, wrote on Twitter that he would leave those panels.

"Climate change is real. Leav-

Coal miners at the Harvey Mine in Sycamore, Pa., waited for Scott Pruitt, the Environmental Protection Agency administrator, to arrive for a press event in April.

ing Paris is not good for America or the world," he said.

Under the accord, the United States had pledged to cut its greenhouse gas emissions 26 to 28 percent below 2005 levels by 2025 and commit up to \$3 billion in aid for poorer countries by 2020.

By stepping away from the Paris agreement, the president made good on a campaign promise to "cancel" an agreement he repeatedly mocked at rallies. As president, he has moved rapidly to reverse Obama-era policies aimed at allowing the United States to meet its pollution-reduction targets as set under the agreement.

"We are getting out," Mr. Trump said Thursday. "But we will start to negotiate, and we will see if we can make a deal that's fair. And if we can, that's great."

In his remarks, Mr. Trump listed sectors of the United States economy that would lose revenue and jobs if the country remained part of the accord, citing a study — vigorously disputed by environmental groups — asserting that the agreement would cost 2.7 million jobs by 2025.

But he will stick to the with-

drawal process laid out in the Paris agreement, which President Barack Obama joined and most of the world has already ratified. That could take nearly four years to complete, meaning a final decision would be up to the American voters in the next presidential election.

Republican lawmakers hailed Mr. Trump's decision, calling it a necessary antidote to the overreach of Mr. Obama's policies aimed at reducing planet-warming carbon emissions.

"I applaud President Trump and his administration for dealing yet another significant blow to the Obama administration's assault on domestic energy production and jobs," said Senator Mitch McConnell of Kentucky, the majority leader.

But Mr. Trump's call for new global negotiations about the planet's climate drew derision from Democrats in the United States and other heads of state.

President Emmanuel Macron of France and Prime Minister Justin Trudeau of Canada each issued rebukes to Mr. Trump. "Make our planet great again,"

Mr. Macron said.

On Twitter, Miguel Arias Cañete, the European Union's commissioner for climate, said that "today's announcement has galvanized us rather than weakened us, and this vacuum will be filled by new broad committed leadership."

Mr. Obama, in a rare assertion of his political views as a former president, said, "The nations that remain in the Paris agreement will be the nations that reap the benefits in jobs and industries created."

"Even in the absence of American leadership; even as this administration joins a small handful of nations that reject the future; I'm confident that our states, cities, and businesses will step up and do even more to lead the way, and help protect for future generations the one planet we've got," Mr. Obama said.

In recent days, Mr. Trump withstood withering criticism from European counterparts who accused him of shirking America's role as a global leader and America's responsibility as history's largest emitter of planet-warming

greenhouse gasses.

After a fierce debate inside the administration, the White House on Thursday took on the trap-pings of a celebration. The Rose Garden was packed with reporters, activists and members of Mr. Trump's administration. Scores of staff members lined the sides of the Rose Garden as a military band played soft jazz.

Supporters of the Paris agreements reacted with pent-up alarm, condemning the administration for shortsightedness about the planet and a reckless willingness to shatter longstanding diplomatic relationships.

"Removing the United States from the Paris agreement is a reckless and indefensible action," said Al Gore, the former vice president who has become an evangelist for fighting climate change. "It undermines America's standing in the world and threatens to damage humanity's ability to solve the climate crisis in time."

Corporate leaders also condemned Mr. Trump's action.

On its website, I.B.M. reaffirmed its support for the Paris agreement and took issue with the

president's contention that it was a bad deal for American workers and the American economy.

"This agreement requires all participating countries to put forward their best efforts on climate change as determined by each country," the company said. "I.B.M. believes that it is easier to lead outcomes by being at the table, as a participant in the agreement, rather than from outside it."

Mr. Immelt, the chairman and chief executive of General Electric, took to Twitter to say he was "disappointed" with the decision. "Climate change is real," he said. "Industry must now lead and not depend on government."

But Mr. Trump was resolute.

"It is time to put Youngstown, Ohio; Detroit, Mich.; and Pittsburgh, Pa., along with many, many other locations within our great country, before Paris, France," he said. "It is time to make America great again."

The mayor of Pittsburgh, Bill Peduto, responded on Twitter, "I can assure you that we will follow the guidelines of the Paris Agreement for our people, our economy & future."

A Long List of Economic Burdens, Bolstered by Dubious Data

This article is by Mark Landler, Brad Plumer and Linda Qiu.

WASHINGTON — In making his case for abandoning the Paris climate accord, President Trump characterized the agreement as an economic straitjacket — one that would impose terrible burdens on Americans by shuttering the coal industry, suffocating growth and redistributing jobs and wealth from the United

States to its competitors.

One thing Mr. Trump did not do in the Rose Garden on Thursday afternoon was question the

NEWS ANALYSIS

underlying science behind climate change. Indeed, the president suggested the 194-nation accord did not go far enough in stemming the rise in global temperatures because of greenhouse gas emissions.

But the president's address — a mix of dry statistics and emotive language — was designed to discredit the pact, point by point. And several of Mr. Trump's claims either relied on dubious data or distorted research reports.

Mr. Trump's argument started with a faulty premise — that emissions reductions under the Paris agreement are compulsory — even though at one point he acknowledged they were volun-

tary.

"The United States," he said, "will cease all implementation of the nonbinding Paris accord and the draconian financial and economic burdens the agreement imposes on our country."

The president referred to a published study to claim that the climate pact would result in "as much as 2.7 million lost jobs by 2025," of which 440,000 would be in manufacturing. By 2040, he

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A Long List of Economic Burdens, Bolstered by Dubious Data

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said, the losses would balloon to 6.5 million industrial jobs, or \$3 trillion in lost economic output, or about \$7,000 in reduced income for the average household.

Critics dispute the methodology of that study, by the National Economic Research Associates. They note that it was conducted for the American Council for Capital Formation and the U.S. Chamber of Commerce — both vocal opponents of climate regulations.

Economists argue that the projected job losses in the study assume the American economy will not use innovation to adapt to the new regulations. Apple, Mars, and Unilever are among companies that have said complying with the Paris agreement would open markets and generate jobs.

A raft of studies — from environmental organizations, Citibank, and the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development — argue that a failure to mitigate the effects of

climate change could cost the economy trillions of dollars.

"China and Europe have become world leaders on the path toward green development already," said Prof. Hans Joachim Schellnhuber of the Potsdam Institute for Climate Impact Research, "and will strengthen their position if the U.S. slips back at the national level."

To dramatize the unfairness of the agreement, Mr. Trump asserted that it allows China, the world's largest polluter, "to increase these emissions by a staggering number of years — 13. They can do whatever they want for 13 years."

Under China's pledge, emissions would indeed continue to climb until 2030, and then begin declining. But as its consumption of coal slows, China is on pace to beat that target.

Its government has pledged to generate 20 percent of its energy from nonfossil fuel sources by 2030, a formidable goal that will require the Chinese to install at least 800 gigawatts worth of solar, wind and nuclear energy capacity — a process that is

already underway.

Mr. Trump noted that the pact would allow China and India to build more coal plants, while effectively shutting down development of a clean coal industry in the United States.

"The agreement doesn't eliminate coal jobs," the president said. "It just transfers those jobs out of America and the United States, and ships them to foreign countries."

Because the Paris accord is nonbinding, it has no direct effect on coal consumption in the United States. The coal industry is in long-term decline because of cheaper alternatives, such as natural gas and renewable energies, along with stricter pollution standards imposed by the Obama administration. Mr. Trump has moved to lift many of those restrictions, and he would be free to do so, even under the Paris agreement.

Mr. Trump's top economic adviser, Gary D. Cohn, acknowledged the declining role played by coal in the nation's energy mix. Speaking to reporters last week, he said, "Coal doesn't even

make that much sense anymore as a feedstock."

Mr. Trump tried to diminish the value of the accord by citing a Massachusetts Institute of Technology study, which said that if each nation lived up to its commitments, it would result in a reduction of only two-tenths of a degree Celsius in global temperatures by 2100.

"Tiny, tiny amount," he said, holding his thumb and index finger together to drive home the point.

But that assertion does not accurately reflect the M.I.T. research.

The M.I.T. study in question looked at the difference between climate pledges made at previous talks and those made in the run-up to Paris, and it found that the Paris pledges would avoid an additional 0.2 degrees Celsius of global warming by 2100.

But the M.I.T. researchers also looked at the difference between all of the climate pledges made to date and a business-as-usual scenario in which countries failed to act. In an updated 2016

analysis, they found that current climate pledges would result in global average temperatures rising 3.3 degrees by the end of the century, compared with 4.2 degrees if no action were taken — a difference of nearly a degree. And the aim of the Paris agreement was to improve those pledges over time.

Mr. Trump saved particular vitriol for the Green Climate Fund, a United Nations program under which richer countries transfer funds to poorer ones to help them mitigate the effects of climate change.

"Nice name," the president said, adding, "We're going to be paying billions and billions and billions of dollars, and we're already way ahead of anybody else. Many of the other countries haven't spent anything, and many of them will never pay one dime."

The United States has pledged \$3 billion to the fund, which is the most of any country in aggregate terms. But it is far from the only contributor, and on a per-capita basis, it is not the highest. Sweden has contributed \$581

million, which works out to a little less than \$60 per person, six times the amount the United States is pledging per capita.

Even operating outside the Paris accord, Mr. Trump insisted that the United States would be an environmental exemplar. "We'll be the cleanest," he promised. "We're going to have the cleanest air. We're going to have the cleanest water."

That optimistic statement is contradicted by Yale University's latest annual Environmental Performance Index.

The United States ranked 26th of 180 countries, according to the index, which assesses each nation's water and air quality, biodiversity, agricultural outputs and climate change efforts. It ranked 43rd in air quality, 22nd in water sanitation, and 44th in climate and energy policies.

Moreover, even after recent reductions, America's carbon emissions per capita remain significantly higher than those of China or India — countries that Mr. Trump branded as the world's big polluters.

Bucking Trump, These Cities, States and Companies Embrace Accord

By HIROKO TABUCHI
and HENRY FOUNTAIN

Representatives of American cities, states and companies are preparing to submit a plan to the United Nations pledging to meet the United States' greenhouse gas emissions targets under the Paris climate accord, despite President Trump's decision to withdraw from the agreement.

The unnamed group — which, so far, includes 30 mayors, three governors, more than 80 university presidents and more than 100 businesses — is negotiating with the United Nations to have its submission accepted alongside contributions to the Paris climate deal by other nations.

"We're going to do everything America would have done if it had stayed committed," Michael Bloomberg, the former New York City mayor who is coordinating the effort, said in an interview.

By redoubling their climate efforts, he said, cities, states and corporations could achieve, or even surpass, the pledge of the administration of former President Barack Obama to reduce America's planet-warming greenhouse gas emissions 26 percent by 2025, from their levels in 2005.

It was unclear how, exactly, that submission to the United Nations would take place. Christiana Figueres, a former top United Nations climate official, said there was currently no formal mechanism for entities that were not countries to be full parties to the Paris accord.

Ms. Figueres, who described the Trump administration's decision to withdraw as a "vacuous political melodrama," said the American government was required to continue reporting its emissions to the United Nations because a formal withdrawal would not take place for several years.

But Ms. Figueres, the executive secretary of the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change until last year, said the Bloomberg group's submission

could be included in future reports the United Nations compiled on the progress made by the signatories of the Paris deal.

There are 195 countries committed to reducing their greenhouse gas emissions as part of the 2015 agreement.

Still, producing what Mr. Bloomberg described as a "parallel" pledge would indicate that leadership in the fight against climate change in the United States had shifted from the federal government to lower levels of government, academia and industry.

Mr. Bloomberg, a United Nations envoy on climate, is a political independent who has been among the critics of Mr. Trump's climate and energy policies.

Mayors of cities including Los Angeles, Atlanta and Salt Lake City have signed on — along with Pittsburgh, which Mr. Trump mentioned in his speech announcing the withdrawal — as have Hewlett-Packard, Mars and dozens of other companies.

Eighty-two presidents and chancellors of universities including Emory, Brandeis and Wesleyan are also participating, the organizers said.

Mr. Trump's plan to pull out of the Paris agreement was motivating more local and state governments, as well as businesses, to commit to the climate change fight, said Robert C. Orr, one of the architects of the 2015 Paris agreement as the United Nations secretary-general's lead climate adviser.

On Thursday, Gov. Jay Inslee of Washington, Gov. Andrew M. Cuomo of New York and Gov. Jerry Brown of California, all Democrats, said they were beginning a separate alliance of states committed to upholding the Paris accord.

"The electric jolt of the last 48 hours is accelerating this process that was already underway," said Mr. Orr, who is now dean of the School of Public Policy at the Uni-



CHANG W. LEE/THE NEW YORK TIMES

A wind farm off Block Island, R.I. Energy from wind is an alternative to polluting fossil fuels.

versity of Maryland. "It's not just the volume of actors that is increasing, it's that they are starting to coordinate in a much more integral way."

The United States is about halfway to its 2025 emissions reduction target, Mr. Orr said. Of the remaining reductions, the federal government — through regulations like gas mileage standards for vehicles — could affect about half.

But in a draft letter to António Guterres, the United Nations secretary-general, Mr. Bloomberg expressed confidence that "non-national actors" could achieve the 2025 goal alone.

"While the executive branch of the U.S. government speaks on behalf of our nation in matters of foreign affairs, it does not determine many aspects of whether and how the United States takes action on climate change," he

wrote.

"The bulk of the decisions which drive U.S. climate action in the aggregate are made by cities, states, businesses, and civil society," he wrote. "Collectively, these actors remain committed to the Paris accord."

Cities and states can reduce emissions in many ways, including negotiating contracts with local utilities to supply greater amounts of renewable energy, building rapid transit programs and other infrastructure projects like improved wastewater treatment. Similarly, corporations can take measures like buying renewable energy for their offices and factories, or making sure their supply chains are climate-friendly.

Governor Inslee said that states held significant sway over emissions. Washington, for example, has adopted a cap on carbon pollu-

tion, has invested in growing clean energy jobs and subsidizes electric vehicle purchases and charging stations.

"Our states will move forward, even if the president wants to go backward," he said in a telephone interview.

America's biggest corporations have been bracing for the United States to exit from the Paris climate accord, a move executives and analysts say would bring few tangible benefits to businesses — but plenty of backlash.

Multinational companies will still need to follow ever-stricter emissions laws that other countries are adopting, no matter the location of their headquarters. Automakers like Ford Motor and General Motors would still need to build cars that meet stringent fuel economy and emissions standards in the European Union, Japan and even China, not to men-

tion California.

American companies also face the wrath of overseas consumers for abandoning what has been a popular global agreement — customers who could buy more Renaults instead of Chevrolets or Reeboks instead of Nikes.

"Pulling out of Paris would be the worst thing for brand America since Abu Ghraib," said Nigel Purvis, a top environmental negotiator in the Clinton and George W. Bush administrations and the chief executive of Climate Advisers, a consulting firm.

"Mars stands by the Paris Climate Agreement," said Grant Reid, the chief executive of Mars. The company, best known for its candies, remained committed, he said, to achieving "the carbon reduction targets the planet needs."

It was unclear from Mr. Trump's announcement what commitments the United States would honor in the Paris accord, which include contributions to the operating budget of the accord's coordinating agency, the framework convention.

But Bloomberg Philanthropies, Mr. Bloomberg's charitable organization, is offering to donate \$14 million over the next two years to help fund the budget should it be needed, a spokeswoman said. That figure represents the United States' share, she said.

Jackie Biskupski, the mayor of Salt Lake City and a Democrat, said her administration had recently brokered an agreement with the local utility to power the city with 100 percent renewable energy by 2032.

Global warming is having a significant impact in Utah, she said, especially on water availability and quality. "We feel very strongly that we have an obligation to make sure we keep moving in the right direction on this issue," she said.

"We really have to make choices that reflect our long-term goals, that really address long-term issues of today," she added.

Move Unlikely to Alter Companies' Course

Shareholder demands and state rules have already pushed firms on climate change

By RUSSELL GOLD AND LYNN COOK

The Trump administration's withdrawal from the Paris agreement heralds a decisive change in U.S. climate policy, but many corporate leaders say it will have little immediate impact on their investments and strategies.

President Donald Trump said the U.S. will begin negotiations to either re-enter the accord or start a new deal on "terms that are fair to the United States, its businesses, its workers, its people, its taxpayers."

Some mining companies, including **Murray Energy Corp.**, the country's largest privately held coal miner, hailed the decision, saying the climate rules would have threatened jobs and economic growth.

But a number of major corporations and chief executives expressed disappointment in the move, including **Dow Chemical**

Co. and **Microsoft Corp.** as well as the heads of **Goldman Sachs Group Inc.** and **Alphabet Inc.**'s Google.

"Today's decision is a setback for the environment and for the U.S.'s leadership position in the world," Goldman Chief Executive Lloyd Blankfein said in his first tweet ever.

Many large companies said they wouldn't change course, and their reasons are diverse. Companies are responding to customer and shareholder demands to reduce greenhouse-gas emissions. Many operate in states and countries that are putting in place climate rules and thus face pressures beyond the U.S. government.

Firms are buying natural gas and renewable electricity that emit less pollutants because they are becoming cheaper. And many are making long-term capital investments to reduce their carbon footprints with an eye toward future decades, not the current election cycle.

Exxon Mobil Corp., the largest U.S. oil producer, has said it wants a consistent set of rules, and favors remaining in the Paris Agreement. "We need a

framework like that to address the challenge of climate change and the risk of climate change," Chief Executive Darren Woods said at the company's annual meeting on Wednesday, where 62% of shareholders voted for a resolution to pressure Exxon to share more information about how climate change could affect its business.

General Electric Co. has spent billions to make technologies that reduce energy consumption a core part of its business. "Disappointed with today's decision on the Paris Agreement," GE Chief Executive Jeffrey Immelt said via Twitter. "Climate change is real. Industry must now lead and not depend on government."

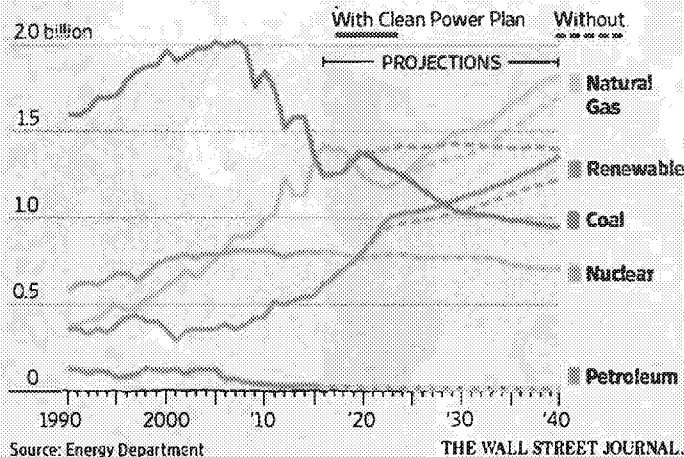
Ford Motor Co. said it was still committed to technology investments to make its vehicles emit less carbon dioxide, including shorter-term moves to improve the efficiency of the internal combustion engine, and longer-term plans to develop affordable fuel cells and enhanced batteries to create electric vehicles that can travel longer. Much of the auto industry is on a similar course.

Some companies support

First Step to an Exit

Before withdrawing the U.S. from the Paris Agreement, President Trump in March signed an order to roll back the Clean Power Plan, which sought to cut power-plant carbon-dioxide emissions. That move is likely to have little impact on the long-term U.S. energy mix.

U.S. net electricity generation by source, in megawatt-hours



leaving the agreement because they see it as a way to jump-start industries weighed down by environmental regulations. Murray Energy's controlling owner, Robert Murray, has been a strong backer of Mr. Trump. "In following through on his promise, President Trump is supporting America's uncom-

promising values, saving coal jobs, and promoting low-cost, reliable electricity for Americans and the rest of the world," he said.

Peabody Energy Corp., a coal producer in St. Louis, supported the decision. "We believe that abiding by the accord, without significant changes, would

have substantially impacted the U.S. economy, increased electricity costs and required the power sector to rely on less diverse and more intermittent energy."

Adam Green, an analyst for World Steel Dynamics, a steel-industry consulting firm, said Mr. Trump's decision won't immediately affect the industry, but "it lifts some of the veiled uncertainty" about the cost of complying with future regulations.

U.S. energy-related carbon emissions are at their lowest level since 1992, according to federal statistics. This is mostly because the U.S. electricity system has replaced a large amount of coal-fired power with natural gas and renewables.

American Electric Power Co., one of the largest utility companies in the U.S., has been shifting toward more gas, wind and solar because the moves are popular with customers and provide increasingly inexpensive power, said Chief Executive Nick Akins. He said it was a mistake for the U.S. to exit from the agreement.

—Thomas Gryta, Bradley Olson, Timothy Puko and Bob Tita contributed to this article.

Trump Bids Paris Adieu

President Trump announced the U.S. will withdraw from the Paris climate agreement on Thursday, to the horror of green elites world-wide. If the decision shows he is more mindful of American economic interests than they are, the other virtue of pulling out is to expose the fraudulence of this Potemkin village.

In a Rose Garden ceremony, Mr. Trump broke with the 2015 agreement, starting the formal four-year withdrawal process: "We're getting out. And we will start to renegotiate and we'll see if there's a better deal. If we can, great. If we can't, that's fine."

This nonchalance inspired a predictable political meltdown, with the anticarbon lobby invoking death, planetary disaster and a permanent historical stain. Billionaire Democratic donor Tom Steyer called it "a traitorous act of war against the American people," while Barack Obama accused his successor of joining "a small handful of nations that reject the future," whatever that means. Get ready for another march on the White House.

But amid the outrage, the aggrieved still haven't gotten around to resolving the central Paris contradiction, which is that it promises to be Earth-saving but fails on its own terms. It is a pledge of phony progress.

The 195 signatory nations volunteered their own carbon emission-reduction pledges, known as "intended nationally determined contributions," or INDCs. China and the other developing nations account for 63% of annual global CO₂ emissions, and their share is rising. They submitted INDCs that pledged to peak the carbon status quo "around" 2030, and maybe later, or never, since Paris included no enforcement mechanisms to prevent cheating.

Meanwhile, the developed OECD nations—responsible for 55% of world CO₂ as recently as 2000—made unrealistic assurances that even they knew they could not achieve. As central-planning prone as the Obama Administration was, it never identified a tax-and-regulation program that came close to meeting its own emissions pledge of 26% to 28% reductions from 2005 levels by 2025.

Paris is thus an exercise in moral and social signaling that is likely to exert little if any influence on atmospheric CO₂, much less on global temperatures. The Paris target was to limit the surface temperature increase to "well below" two degrees Celsius from the pre-industrial level by 2100. Researchers at the Massachusetts

**Growth and innovation
are better forms of
climate insurance.**

Institute of Technology's Joint Program conclude that even if every INDC is fulfilled to the letter, the temperature increase will be in the range of 1.9–2.6 degrees Celsius by 2050, and 3.1–5.2 degrees Celsius by 2100.

Such forecasts are highly uncertain, which is inherent when scientists attempt to predict the future behavior of a system

as complex as global climate. The best form of climate-change insurance is a large and growing economy so that future generations can afford to adapt to whatever they may confront.

A more prosperous society a century or more from now is a more important goal than asking the world to accept a lower standard of living today in exchange for symbolic benefits. Poorer nations in a world where 1.35 billion live without electricity will never accept such a trade in any case, while Mr. Trump is right to decline to lock in U.S. promises that make U.S. industries less competitive.

The surest way to "reject the future" is to burden the economy with new political controls today, because economic growth underwrites technological progress and human ingenuity. These are the major drivers of energy transitions that allow people to generate more wealth with fewer resources. Energy intensity—the amount of energy necessary to create a dollar of GDP—has plunged 58% in the U.S. since 1990, according to the U.S. Energy Information Administration.

Over the same period, intensity declined merely 37% in OECD Europe, 20% in Japan, 22% in Mexico and 7% in Korea. China dropped by 133%, but working off a far more wasteful initial base. Superior efficiency helps explain why U.S. carbon emissions fell by 145 million tons in 2016 compared to 2015, more than any other country. Russia was second, at minus 64 million tons. Over the past five years U.S. emissions have fallen by 270 million tons, while China—the No. 1 CO₂ emitter—added 1.1 billion tons.

All of which make the claims that the U.S. is abdicating global leadership so overwrought. Leadership is not defined as the U.S. endorsing whatever other world leaders have already decided they want to do, and the U.S. is providing a better model in any case. Private economies that can innovate and provide cost-effective energy alternatives will always beat meaningless international agreements. To the extent Paris damages economic growth, the irony is that it would leave the world less prepared for climate change.



FRANCOIS MORV/ASSOCIATED PRESS

"For The Planet" is projected on the Eiffel Tower during the 2015 U.N. Climate Change Conference in Paris.

The world will rally. It has to.

BY TODD STERN

President Trump has made a colossal mistake in deciding to withdraw from the Paris climate agreement. There is simply no case for withdrawal, other than a desire to double down on an ill-informed campaign promise, while the case for staying in is overwhelming. But damaging as it is, this decision is not the beginning of the end for efforts to contain climate change. The world decided in Paris to confront the climate threat, and it is not turning back.

Around the world, climate change is a metastasizing danger, for some countries even an existential threat. It was understood in the years leading up to the Paris negotiation that the climate challenge could be met only with a new kind of agreement premised on concerted effort by all. That agreement — ambitious, universal, transparent, balanced — was reached in Paris, with the

they do not say — how dare you?

President Barack Obama once said to business leaders, in a Roosevelt Room meeting I attended, that climate change was the one threat, other than nuclear weapons, with the potential to alter the course of human progress. A near-consensus of major U.S. companies urged the Trump administration to stay in the agreement because they know climate change is real, that the Paris agreement is a good and balanced deal, that their own concerns on matters such as intellectual property and trade will be defended only if U.S. negotiators are at the table and that turning the United States into a climate-change pariah will be bad for business, for access to markets and for investment. But our chief-executive president decided to leave U.S. business in the lurch.

All this is more than disappointing. And watching the so-called internal battle on this issue play out between determined antagonists on the one side

extending the good work they are already doing on climate change, but also by sending a clear and resounding message to the global community: that while Trump's Washington may have gone dark on climate change, inspired centers of innovation and commitment are lighting the way forward all over the country. In states such as California and New York, Washington, Oregon, Minnesota, Illinois and North Carolina, and in New England; in cities such as New York, Chicago, Los Angeles, Houston and New Orleans, among many others. These entities account for a sizable chunk of both U.S. gross domestic product and carbon emissions. They may not be able to get the United States all the way to our 2025 Paris emissions target, but they have the potential to go far.

Private companies, too, have been instrumental in driving the clean-energy revolution, pursuing the massive economic opportunities presented by the need to decarbonize our

ing as it is, this decision is not the beginning of the end for efforts to contain climate change. The world decided in Paris to confront the climate threat, and it is not turning back.

Around the world, climate change is a metastasizing danger, for some countries even an existential threat. It was understood in the years leading up to the Paris negotiation that the climate challenge could be met only with a new kind of agreement premised on concerted effort by all. That agreement — ambitious, universal, transparent, balanced — was reached in Paris, with the help of U.S. leadership every step of the way.

Trump's suggestion Thursday that he is willing to renegotiate the deal to make it fairer to the United States doesn't pass the straight-face test. The Paris agreement — for anyone who actually understands it — is entirely fair to the United States. The idea that 194 other countries will listen to Trump's insulting Rose Garden blather and say, "Sure, let's sit down and negotiate a new deal" is ridiculous.

Instead, Trump's decision will be seen as an ugly betrayal — self-centered, callous, hollow, cruel. The ravages of climate change have been on display in recent years in the superstorms, floods, rising sea levels, droughts, fires and deadly heat waves that will only get worse as the carbon index mounts. Vulnerable countries will look at the United States, the richest power on Earth, the largest historic emitter of greenhouse gases, and think — even if

change is real, that the Paris agreement is a good and balanced deal, that their own concerns on matters such as intellectual property and trade will be defended only if U.S. negotiators are at the table and that turning the United States into a climate-change pariah will be bad for business, for access to markets and for investment. But our chief-executive president decided to leave U.S. business in the lurch.

All this is more than disappointing. And watching the so-called internal battle on this issue play out between determined antagonists on the one side and diffident, *sotto voce* defenders on the other was downright depressing.

But let's be clear: This is not the end of the line. This is a call to arms.

Countries won't follow Trump out of the Paris climate agreement and over a cliff. They won't give Trump the satisfaction of "canceling" the agreement, as he promised during his campaign. They will want to show that they can carry on without the United States. And they know too well that climate change is real and that if the Paris regime fell apart, they'd just have to build it again. They will hold on to the hope that the current administration will be a one-term wonder. It is true that, in the longer run, it would be difficult for the Paris regime to produce accelerated action at the level that is needed without the United States. But other countries will probably bet that the United States will come back.

Progressive U.S. states and cities also have a crucial role to play, not only in

sota, Illinois and North Carolina, and in New England; in cities such as New York, Chicago, Los Angeles, Houston and New Orleans, among many others. These entities account for a sizable chunk of both U.S. gross domestic product and carbon emissions. They may not be able to get the United States all the way to our 2025 Paris emissions target, but they have the potential to go far.

Private companies, too, have been instrumental in driving the clean-energy revolution, pursuing the massive economic opportunities presented by the need to decarbonize our energy system. And consumers are increasingly demanding that companies not only provide desirable products or services, but also stand as good corporate citizens.

Finally, for citizens, it is time to hold our leaders accountable at all levels of government. Protecting our nation, our children and our American heritage should not be optional for an elected leader. Nor should preserving America's singular standing in the world.

Thursday was not a good day for climate change, and it was not a good day for the United States. Nothing we say now can change that. But it is a day that needs to be remembered as the visible moment the rear-guard opposition went too far. It is a day to spark action and resolve. It is a day that needs to count.

The writer, a visiting lecturer at Yale Law School, was U.S. special envoy for climate change from 2009 to 2016.

Washington Post | OpEd | p. A19

Mr. Trump betrays the planet

By abandoning the Paris agreement, he deals a blow to the effort to slow climate change.

ON MONDAY, the journal *Nature Climate Change* published a study finding that global warming's effects on major world cities could be far more devastating than previously understood. Some cities, it found, could be a staggering 14.4 degrees warmer on average by the end of the century, causing a 10.9 percent decline in gross domestic product as people work less, air and water quality declined, and more energy was needed to cool buildings.

On Thursday, President Trump took a major step toward making this dystopia a reality.

In announcing that he will pull the United States out of the Paris climate agreement, Mr. Trump dealt a blow to the effort to slow climate change — but not only that. By joining Syria and Nicaragua as the only nonparticipants in the most consequential diplomatic effort of this century, he also dealt a blow to the U.S. leadership that has helped promote peace and prosperity for the past seven decades under Republican and Democratic presidents alike. Under their guidance, the United States acted with selflessness

and enlightened self-interest. The traits reflected in Mr. Trump's decision are self-defeating selfishness, insecurity and myopia.

A variety of factors contributed to the nation's post-World War II economic boom, but prominent among them was energetic internationalism. The General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), which obliged countries to meet regularly and discuss improving the atmosphere for global trade, was one of the spectacularly successful U.S.-backed institutions that helped gradually remove barriers to economic exchange and innovation.

The Paris agreement had the promise to be the 21st century's GATT, providing a framework in which countries would regularly convene and in which each nation would be expected to offer what more it could do to advance an essential global goal that no country could achieve alone — not freer trade, in this case, but heading off climate change's worst effects. The agreement bore an American stamp. It was fairer and more flexible than previous attempts to strike a global climate deal, with particu-

lar sensitivity to U.S. concerns that emissions limits not be imposed on any country.

The agreement was the world's best hope to ensure that big developing nations such as China and India did their share, addressing GOP concerns that these countries would refuse to sacrifice along with the United States. It did not lock in exactly how the United States and other nations would help. Rather, it created an international expectation of voluntary commitments from every nation, enforced by diplomatic pressure. All of Mr. Trump's arguments for withdrawing, in other words, are unfounded. He could have adjusted, even minimized, the U.S. commitment without trashing the framework.

The president said Thursday that the United States might rejoin the Paris agreement after a period of renegotiation. But given the extent to which other nations already accommodated American demands, the prospect of a radically different treaty is fanciful. So what tangible benefit does this irrational decision bring to Americans? None. None at all.

Washington Post | OpEd | p. A18

China and India have the will — but not the resources — to lead on climate

BY ANNIE GOWEN
AND SIMON DENYER

NEW DELHI — As the United States pulls back from its commitment to fight climate change, the world's two other biggest polluters — India and China — are sounding the alarm. But neither country is in a position to fill the void left by American leadership, or to foot the bill.

Their vast populations stand to lose dramatically from global warming, and the two countries' leaders are already taking a stronger public stance against the threat posed by carbon emissions in the form of rising sea levels and catastrophic weather patterns.

Both say they will honor their commitments to the Paris accord, and they are encouraging other countries to do the same. That sort of rhetorical leadership is very welcome, experts say, but neither country is in a position to replace the financial incentives the United States had offered poorer nations.

This week, Indian Prime Minister Narendra Modi, during a visit to Berlin, stood alongside German Chancellor Angela Merkel and said that failing to act on climate change was a “morally criminal act.”

Earlier this year, Chinese President Xi Jinping called the 2015 climate accord in Paris “a hard-won achievement” and urged other signers to stick to their pledges instead of walking away — “as this is a responsibility we must assume for future generations.”

In the past, there was skepticism in both countries about Western calls for emissions reductions, which were seen as hypocritical.

The strong public comments now underline how far opinion has moved in both countries.

In his announcement Thursday, President Trump sharply criticized both India and China, saying they had gotten preferential treatment when they signed the accord.

The Trump administration's withdrawal from the pact, analysts say, jeopardizes financing for mitigation and control efforts by smaller nations and stokes fears that other countries may abandon their pledges to reduce emissions along with the United States.

It also dramatically undermines the chances of further progress in years ahead: The commitments contained in the Paris accord are not enough to prevent catastrophic rises in global temperatures, and much deeper emissions cuts would be needed. The U.S. withdrawal is bound to badly damage the accord's credibility and the chances of keeping the rest of the world focused on the tough choices ahead.

“It's a body blow,” said Chandra Bhushan, deputy director of the Center for Science and Environment in New Delhi. “People are putting on a brave face and saying it doesn't matter if the U.S. withdraws from the Paris agreement. But it is built not only on cutting emissions, but finance and technology, and the U.S. contribution is about 20 percent of that.”

Japan's environment minister, Koichi Yamamoto, said at a news conference Thursday that “I can't help but feel concerned whether the Paris treaty without U.S. participation would be effective.”

Yet Yasushi Kimura, head of a



FILIP SINGER/EUROPEAN PRESS PHOTO AGENCY

India's Narendra Modi, with Germany's Angela Merkel in Berlin, says failing to act on climate change would be “morally criminal.”

major Japanese conglomerate of metals and petroleum companies called JXTG Holdings, told the Nikkei business newspaper when asked about climate change, “It's hard to imagine not working on it just because the U.S. pulled out.”

The United States is the world's second-largest emitter of greenhouse gases and had pledged in Paris to reduce its emissions 26 percent to 28 percent below their 2005 levels by 2025. The country's withdrawal will have a major impact on the agreement's goal of keeping the warming of the planet to below two degrees Celsius (3.6 degrees Fahrenheit) of what it was in preindustrial times, experts say.

Trump, who has said climate change is a “hoax” and that restrictions are bad for the U.S. economy, has already moved to roll back

many Obama-era policies such as clean power, vehicle emission standards and curbs on power plants.

China and India had been slow to address the issue of global warming — fearing it would hold back the pace of development. In India for example, 240 million people remain without electricity.

But experts now predict that China's carbon emissions will peak, and then begin to decline, significantly earlier than the country's 2030 target, and the country is investing more in renewable energy than any other nation, pledging a further \$360 billion by 2020.

“China will continue to carry out innovation, green, open and shared development regardless of how the other countries' positions are changing, based on the inher-

ent needs of its own sustainable development,” Hua Chunying, a spokesman for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, said in a news conference this week in Beijing.

And now new energy policies in both nations are beginning to have a discernible effect, scholars say.

Slowing consumption in China and delay of construction of new coal plants in India is likely to reduce projected global emissions by 2 billion to 3 billion tons by 2030, compared with forecasts from last year, according to a study released in May by Climate Action Tracker, an independent monitoring group.

Meanwhile, India — which set a target of increasing its renewable power capacity to 175 gigawatts by 2022 — has exceeded its targets for wind power this fiscal year and has made some strides in increasing its solar capacity, according to a study from the World Resources Institute. Recent low solar prices may make renewable power increasingly competitive, the study said.

In addition, the country is holding off on the construction of some new coal-fired power generating plants because the extra capacity may not be needed for now, according to a new draft electricity plan.

Piyush Goyal, India's energy minister, said that India remains committed to its Paris pledge — no matter what happens in the rest of the world.

“We are not addressing climate change because somebody told us to do it, it is an article of faith for this government,” Goyal said. “Sadly the developed world does

not show the same commitment to fulfill their promises, which could help speed up the clean energy revolution.”

Yet neither country is willing to foot the bill for other countries' efforts to reduce emissions, experts say. The United States had pledged \$3 billion into a Green Climate Fund to assist smaller countries on their climate change initiatives — \$2 billion of which has been canceled by the Trump administration.

Zhang Zhongxiang, the director of the China Academy of Energy, Environmental and Industrial Economics and a professor at Tianjin University, said China is more likely to take a role of a “cooperator” and “pusher” rather than assuming the out-front leadership role the Obama administration adopted. Zhang said China may contribute financially in smaller ways, such as contributing \$20 million to its South-South Cooperation Fund to help smaller countries.

The two countries are likely to foster knowledge sharing with other nations, rather than creating super funds, such as India's founding of International Solar Alliance — a knowledge platform for sun-rich countries — with France in 2015, said Varad Pande, a former adviser to India's Environment Ministry and a member of India's climate negotiations team.

“It will be a different flavor of leadership,” Pande said.

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Denyer reported from Beijing. Shirley Feng in Beijing and Anna Fifield in Tokyo contributed to this report.

THE FACT CHECKER

Explanation for Paris exit is based on spurious claims

**BY GLENN KESSLER
AND MICHELLE YE HEE LEE**

In his speech Thursday announcing his decision to withdraw the United States from the Paris climate agreement, President Trump frequently relied on dubious facts and unbalanced claims to make his case that the accord would hurt the U.S. economy. Notably, he looked at only one side of the scale — claiming that the agreement left the United States at a competitive disadvantage, harming U.S. industries. But he often ignored the benefits that could come from tackling climate change, including potential green jobs.

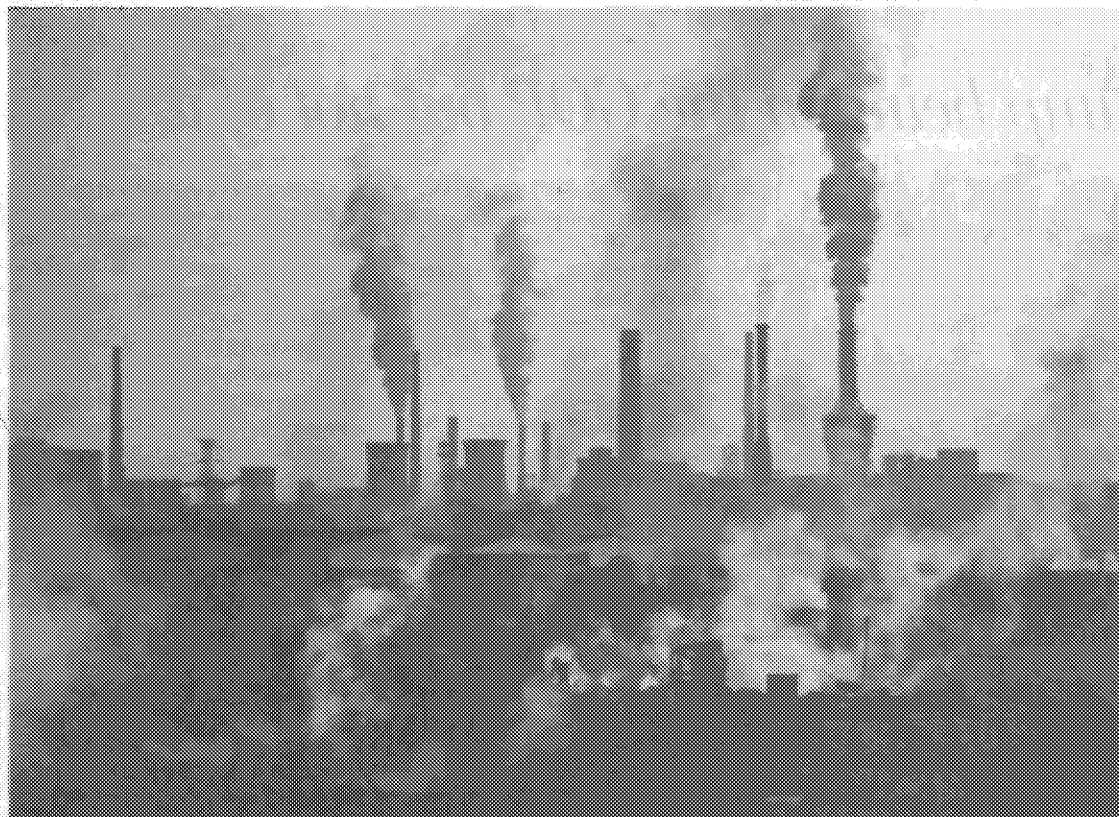
Trump also suggested that the United States was treated unfairly under the agreement. But each of the nations that signed the pact agreed to help lower emissions, based on plans they submitted. So the U.S. target was set by the Obama administration.

The plans are not legally binding, but developing and developed countries are treated differently because developed countries, on a per capita basis,

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KEVIN FRAYER/GETTY IMAGES

Smoke billows from a steel plant in China's Inner Mongolia region. President Trump incorrectly said the Paris agreement permits China to build more coal plants but bars the United States from doing so.

Speech relies on false claims

FACT CHECKER FROM A1

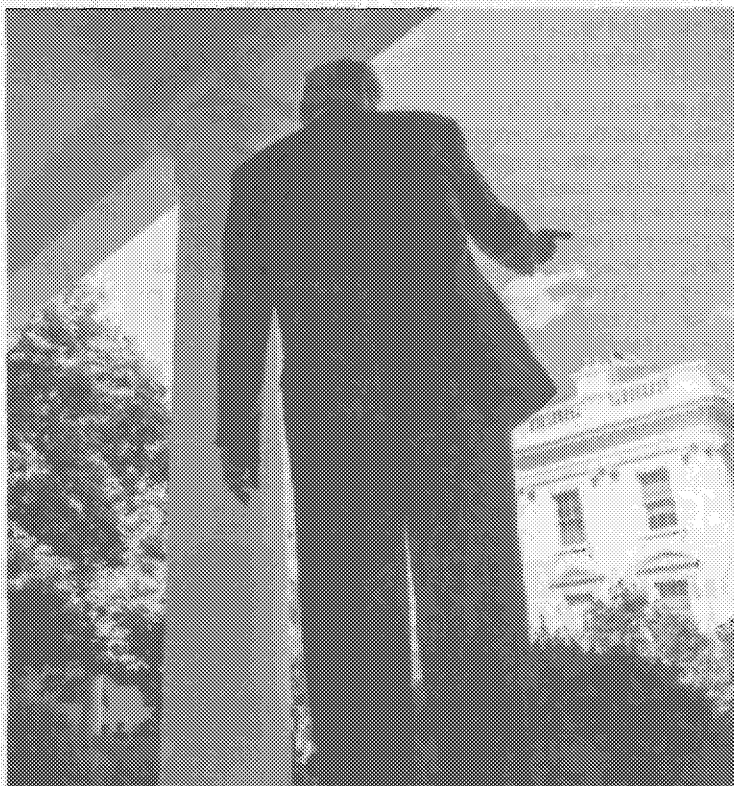
often produce more greenhouse gases than developing countries. For instance, on a per capita basis, the United States in 2015 produced more than double the carbon dioxide emissions of China — and eight times as much as India.

Here's a roundup of statements made by the president during his Rose Garden address.

"We're getting out, but we will start to negotiate, and we will see if we can make a deal that's fair."

Each country set its own commitments under the Paris agreement, so Trump's comment is puzzling. He could unilaterally change the commitments offered by President Barack Obama, which is technically allowed under the accord. But there is no appetite to renegotiate the entire agreement, as made clear by statements from world leaders after his announcement.

"China will be allowed to build hundreds of additional coal plants. So, we can't build the plants, but they can, according to this agreement. India will be al-



JARIN BOSFORD/THE WASHINGTON POST

Trump walks back inside the White House after announcing that the United States would withdraw from the climate agreement.

"China will be allowed to build hundreds of additional coal plants. So, we can't build the plants, but they can, according to this agreement. India will be allowed to double its coal production by 2020."

The agreement is nonbinding, and each nation sets its own targets. There is nothing in the agreement that stops the United States from building coal plants or gives permission to China or India to build coal plants. In fact, market forces, primarily reduced costs for natural gas, have forced the closure of coal plants. China announced this year that it would cancel plans to build more than 100 coal-fired plants.

Gary Cohn, director of Trump's National Economic Council, recently told reporters that "coal doesn't even make that much sense anymore as a feedstock. Natural gas, which we have become an abundant producer, which we're going to become a major exporter of, is such a cleaner fuel."

"Compliance with the terms of the Paris accord and the onerous energy restrictions it has placed on the United States could cost America as much as 2.7 million lost jobs by 2025, according to the National Economic Research Associates. This includes 440,000 fewer manufacturing jobs — not what we need."

Trump cited a slew of statistics from a study that was funded by the U.S. Chamber of Commerce and the American Council for Capital Formation, foes of the Paris accord. So the figures must be viewed with a jaundiced eye. Moreover, the study assumed a scenario that no policy analyst expects — that the United States will take drastic steps to meet the Obama pledge of a 26 to 28 percent reduction in emissions by 2025.

Trump also cited the impact by 2040, including a "cost to the economy" of nearly \$3 trillion in lost gross domestic product. But in addition to an unrealistic scenario, that number must be viewed in context over more than two decades, so "\$3 trillion" amounts to a reduction of 6 percent. The study concludes that coal usage would almost disappear, but innovation in clean energy sources would slow considerably, which also raises the cost of complying with the commitments.

Environmentalists say greater

Trump walks back inside the White House after announcing that the United States would withdraw from the climate agreement.

investment in clean energy will lower costs and spur innovation. That may not be correct, either, but it demonstrates how the outcomes in models of economic activity decades from now depends on the assumptions.

"Even if the Paris agreement were implemented in full, with total compliance from all nations, it is estimated it would only produce a two-tenths of one degree — think of that, this much — Celsius reduction in global temperature by the year 2100. Tiny, tiny amount."

Trump is referring to research by the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, in a 2015 report. Researchers found that proposed emissions cuts in the Paris plan would result in about 0.2 degrees (Celsius) less warming by 2100, if the cuts were not extended further.

John Reilly, lead author of the report, said he "disagrees completely" with Trump's characterization that the 0.2 degree cut is a "tiny, tiny" amount that is not worth pursuing. As a part of the deal, countries reexamine their commitments and can exceed or extend their pledges beyond 2030. The intent of the research was to say that the Paris deal was a small step and that more incremental steps need to be taken in the long run.

"The logic that 'This isn't making much progress on a serious problem, therefore we're going to do nothing,' just doesn't make sense to me. The conclusion should be — and our intended implication for people was — not to overly celebrate Paris, because you still have a long journey in front of you. So carb up for the rest of the trip," Reilly said.

"The green fund would likely obligate the United States to commit potentially tens of billions of dollars of which the United States has already handed over \$1 billion. Nobody else is even close. Most of them haven't even paid anything — including funds raided out of America's budget for the war against terrorism. That's where they came [from]."

It is incorrect that other countries have not contributed to the United Nations' Green Climate Fund. In fact, 43 governments

have pledged money to the fund, including nine developing countries. The countries have pledged to pay \$10.13 billion collectively, and the U.S. share is \$3 billion. As of May, the United States had contributed \$1 billion of the \$3 billion it pledged.

Trump implies that the money was taken out of the U.S. defense fund. But the U.S. contributions were paid out of the State Department's Economic Support Fund, one of the foreign assistance programs to promote economic or political stability based on U.S. strategic interests. Republican lawmakers have criticized the use of this fund, saying Congress designated the money to prioritize security, human rights and other efforts unrelated to climate change.

"Believe me, we have massive legal liability if we stay in. As president, I have one obligation, and that obligation is to the American people. The Paris accord would undermine our economy, hamstring our workers, weaken our sovereignty, impose unacceptable legal risk and put us at a permanent disadvantage to the other countries of the world."

Trump is referring to concerns raised by White House Counsel Donald McGahn that staying in the Paris agreement would bolster legal arguments of climate advocates challenging Trump's decision to roll back the Clean Power Plan.

The Clean Power Plan is a flagship environmental regulatory rule of the Obama administration and proposes to cut carbon emissions from existing power plants 30 percent below 2005 levels by 2030. It is crucial to the U.S. meeting its carbon emissions reductions pledge in the Paris agreement. But it has been placed on hold while under litigation.

According to Politico, McGahn raised concerns that the Paris agreement "could be cited in court challenges to Trump's efforts to kill Obama's climate rules. McGahn's comments shocked State Department lawyers, who strongly reject both of those contentions, the sources said."

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Move could put a difficult target out of reach

BY CHRIS MOONEY

President Trump's decision Thursday to withdraw the United States from the Paris climate agreement could make it difficult, if not impossible, for the world to stay on track to reach an internationally agreed-upon goal for limiting dangerous global warming, scientists said.

That goal, which sought to limit warming to "well below" a 2-degree Celsius (3.6-degree Fahrenheit) rise above preindustrial temperatures, was already a stretch before Trump announced the U.S. exit in a speech in the White House Rose Garden.

With the United States, the world's second-largest emitter of greenhouse-gas emissions after China, walking away from the accord, other countries will presumably have to ramp up their ambitions still further if they want to avoid the prospect of dangerous warming.

"Avoiding a 2-degree warming was already hard when all of the key countries were rowing together," said Michael Oppenheimer, a climate researcher at Princeton University. "With the U.S. becoming a climate outlaw by withdrawing from Paris, that target becomes nearly impossible."

"It looks like Trump has condemned the U.S., the rest of the world, and future generations to live in the climate danger zone," he said.

It's only 2017, so projecting the greenhouse-gas emissions of disparate countries over many decades, and how they will change the planet's climate, is no exact science.

It's possible that other countries could find a way to compensate for the U.S. withdrawal — or even that a future U.S. administration would reverse Trump's action soon enough to avert a lot of climate damage.

It's also possible that actions by states such as California, or even individual cities and major corporations, could stabilize U.S. emissions, no matter what the Trump administration does on

IMPACT CONTINUED ON A15

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Climate goal is in jeopardy

IMPACT FROM A1

the federal level. Or a super-fast-moving renewable-energy transition, rather than the current slow and steady one, could come.

As Trump broke with the Paris agreement, New York Gov. Andrew M. Cuomo (D) rolled out a plan Thursday to invest \$1.5 billion in renewable energy and energy efficiency.

Cuomo said the initiative would create 40,000 jobs in the next three years — or twice the number of mining and logging jobs in West Virginia, according to Bureau of Labor Statistics figures.

Other U.S. states and businesses are continuing to move ahead with efforts to cut emissions.

Still, there's no way to read the U.S. departure as good news for the 2-degree goal. The commitments made by countries in Paris, on their own, did not achieve sufficient reductions in greenhouse-gas emissions to meet the agreed-upon target.

Some scientists have been skeptical of the Paris target for some time, simply because there's only a finite amount of carbon dioxide that humans can put in the air before the Earth is consigned to a 2-degree rise in temperature.

That "carbon budget" gets narrower every year.

"There's so many things that need to go right for 2 degrees. Essentially, we've emitted too much, which makes the 2-degree challenge hard," said Glen Peters, a senior researcher at the Center for International Climate Research in Oslo.

Climate policy experts note that U.S. emissions cuts were set to make up a major part — more than a fifth — of the reductions envisioned under the Paris accord between now and 2030.

An analysis by the think tank Climate Interactive estimated that the U.S. pledges would account for 21 percent of the total expected emissions cuts out to the year 2030 under the Paris agreement.

That's assuming that the international community remains committed to the 2-degree goal.

Countries also agreed on a more aspirational goal at Paris to try to limit warming to 1.5 degrees, which was seen as a safer level for low-lying island states and other more-vulnerable countries.

"President Trump's withdrawal from the Paris Agreement,

Paris agreement status quo, by total greenhouse-gas emissions

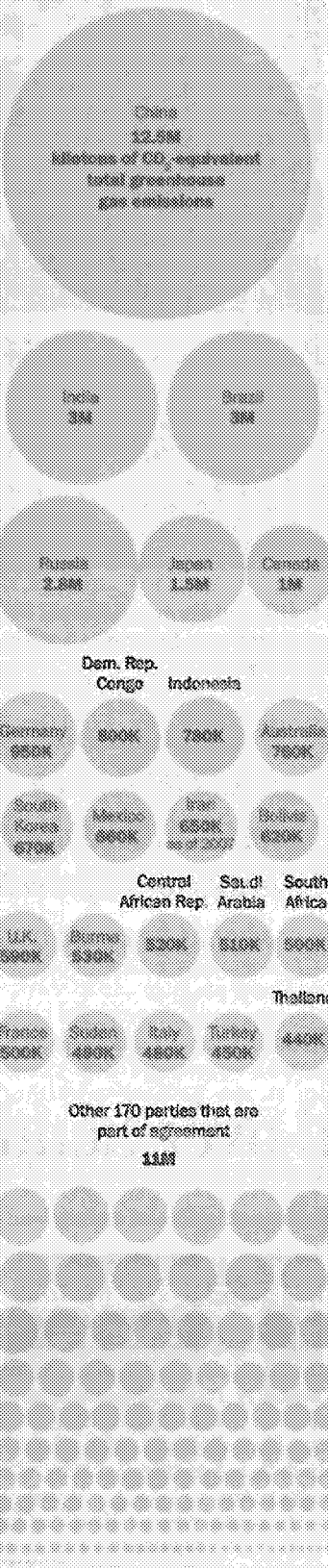
Developed country

Developing country

PART OF PARIS AGREEMENT

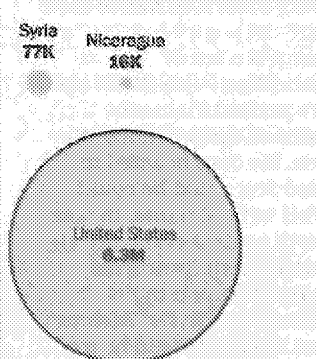
194 parties

192 countries + E.U. + Palestinian Authority



NOT PART OF AGREEMENT

3 countries



President Trump plans to back out of the Paris agreement, which puts the U.S. into this group.

ernational community remains committed to the 2-degree goal.

Countries also agreed on a more aspirational goal at Paris to try to limit warming to 1.5 degrees, which was seen as a safer level for low-lying island states and other more-vulnerable countries.

"President Trump's withdrawal from the Paris Agreement, combined with the repeal of domestic actions resulting in halting the decline in U.S. emissions, will likely make it more difficult and costly overall to meet the Paris Agreement temperature goal of holding warming well below 2°C, and limiting it to 1.5°C," according to an analysis written by Bill Hare, a climate scientist and the chief executive of Climate Analytics, a group that analyzes climate change scenarios.

Warming of more than 2 degrees would have dramatic consequences: The planet's ice sheets would be far more likely to melt, triggering more sea-level rise, than at 1.5 degrees, which is considered the safer limit, according to Hans Joachim Schellnhuber, a physicist who heads the Potsdam Institute for Climate Impact Research in Germany.

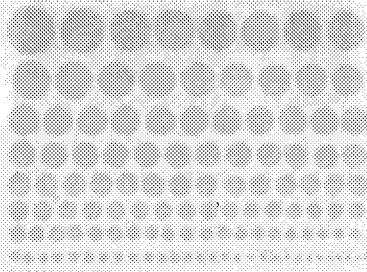
"Particularly on sea-level rise, every tenth of a degree really matters," Schellnhuber said. "We find that with 1.5 degrees warming, you probably will get in the end something below a one-meter sea-level rise and then it stabilizes; with 2 degrees it just keeps on rising, because many of the ice sheets kick in."

Other major climate impacts at 2 degrees include severe threats to coral reefs across the globe, a greater risk of long-lasting heat waves and extreme rainfall events, and the risk of lower yields for key crops such as wheat in tropical regions.

Climate Interactive has estimated that the United States on its own would account for an additional 0.3 degrees Celsius (0.5 degrees Fahrenheit) of warming by the year 2100 if it leaves the Paris deal and takes no actions to reduce emissions for the rest of the century as other countries fully live up to their current pledges.

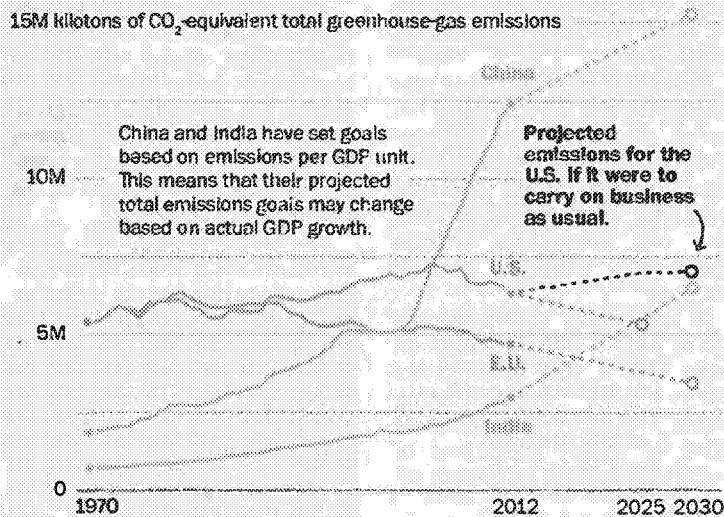
Schellnhuber similarly puts that number at a few tenths of a degree Celsius under this scenario.

However, it would be even more consequential if the U.S.



NATIONALLY DETERMINED CONTRIBUTIONS, AS SUBMITTED TO THE UNITED NATIONS

● Developed country ● Developing country



China
Reduce emissions per GDP unit by 60 to 65 percent from 2005 levels by 2030

India
Reduce emissions per GDP unit by 33 to 35 percent from 2005 levels by 2030

United States
Reduce emissions by 26 to 28 percent from 2005 levels by 2025

European Union
Reduce emissions by at least 40 percent from 1990 levels by 2030

Note: The Vatican is not officially part of the Paris agreement, but Pope Francis has publicly supported it. Some parties are part of the agreement but have not formally ratified it. They are already complying and moving toward ratification.

Sources: Paris agreement parties from United Nations. Emissions data from the World Bank as of 2012, the latest available year, unless otherwise noted. Emissions data is not available for some countries after 2000. NDC data from United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change, projected GDP from OECD, projected U.S. emissions from the State Department via UNFCCC.

departure from the Paris agreement caused other countries to weaken their commitments or lower their ambitions.

Schellnhuber thinks that that is unlikely for now — and that other countries will keep on pushing to cut their emissions.

If that is the case, those efforts may be able to offset the U.S. withdrawal from the agreement.

Niklas Hohne, a professor at Wageningen University in the Netherlands and a founder of the NewClimate Institute, agreed that the U.S. move worsens the prospects for meeting

the 2-degree target. But he also said that he was seeing progress on emissions cuts in India and China that could be large enough to offset backsliding by the United States.

"We've looked at recent developments in China and India, and they are actually overcompensating for the potential increase in emissions in the U.S.," he said. "That's because renewables are happening much faster in China and India, they are replacing coal much faster, and that leads to significantly lower emissions."

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CALLS DEAL UNFAIR TO U.S. WORKERS

Obama, world leaders, CEOs denounce decision

BY PHILIP RUCKER
AND JENNA JOHNSON

President Trump announced Thursday afternoon that he is withdrawing the United States from the landmark Paris climate agreement, an extraordinary move that dismayed America's allies and set back the global effort to address the warming planet.

Trump's decision set off alarms worldwide, drawing swift and sharp condemnation from foreign leaders as well as top environmentalists and corporate titans, who decried the U.S. exit from the Paris accord as an irresponsible abdication of American leadership in the face of irrefutable scientific evidence.

Trump, who has labeled climate change a "hoax," made good on a campaign promise to "cancel" the Paris agreement and Obama-era regulations that he said were decimating industries and killing jobs. The president cast his decision as a "reassertion of America's sovereignty," arguing that the climate pact as negotiated under President Barack Obama was grossly unfair to the U.S. workers he had vowed to protect with his populist "America First" platform.

"I was elected to represent the citizens of Pittsburgh, not Paris," Trump proclaimed in a forceful, lengthy and at times rambling speech from the Rose Garden of the White House. He added, "As of today, the United States will cease all implementation of the non-binding Paris accord and the draconian financial and economic burdens the agreement imposes on our country."

The United States joins only two countries — Nicaragua and Syria — in opposing a climate agreement reached by all other nations in 2015. A signature diplomatic achievement for Obama, the Paris accord was celebrated at the time as a universal response to the global warming crisis.

The U.S. withdrawal from the Paris agreement cannot actually be finalized until near the end of

ACCORD CONTINUED ON A14

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Trump says accord puts U.S. at 'permanent disadvantage'

ACCORD FROM A1

Trump's term because of the accord's legal structure and language.

With the world's second-largest emitter of greenhouse gases walking away from the pact, scientists said it would be nearly impossible for the world to realize its agreed goal of limiting global warming to below a 2-degree Celsius (3.6-degree Fahrenheit) rise above preindustrial temperatures.

Still, many U.S. states and private companies announced Thursday that despite Trump's decision, they would continue their own existing policies, such as restricting greenhouse gas emissions, as well as pursue new ones to demonstrate urgency in addressing the climate threat.

Citing a litany of statistics disputed by environmentalists, Trump argued Thursday that the pact would hurt domestic manufacturing and other industries and would put the United States at a "permanent disadvantage" with China, India and other rising powers. Staying in the accord, he said, would cost the United States as many as 2.7 million jobs by 2025 and as much as \$3 trillion in lost gross domestic product.

"We're going to have the cleanest air," Trump said. "We're going to have the cleanest water. We will be environmentally friendly. But we're not going to put our businesses out of work. We're not



Barack Obama, pictured last September in Hangzhou, China, on Thursday said the Paris climate agreement negotiated under his watch was the product of "steady, principled American leadership on the world stage" and said that it had broad support from the private sector.

for 21 percent of the total emissions reductions achieved by the accord through 2030.

'Reckless and indefensible'

Condemnations of Trump's decision were immediate and strongly worded. Former vice president Al Gore, who won a Nobel Peace Prize for his work raising awareness about global warming and personally tried to persuade Trump, said the president's decision was "reckless and indefensible."

"It undermines America's standing in the world and threatens to damage humanity's ability to solve the climate crisis in time," Gore said in a statement.

Jeff Immelt, the chief executive of General Electric, tweeted: "Disappointed with today's decision on the Paris Agreement. Climate change is real. Industry must now lead and not depend on government."

Tesla chief executive Elon Musk and Disney chief executive Robert Iger both announced Thursday that they were leaving Trump's business advisory council over his decision to withdraw from the Paris deal.

In Europe, a top German politician slammed Trump's decision, mocking him for his brusque brush-aside of a Balkan leader last week at a NATO meeting in Brussels. "You can withdraw from a climate agreement but not from climate change, Mr. Trump." So-

as many as 2.7 million jobs by 2025 and as much as \$3 trillion in lost gross domestic product.

"We're going to have the cleanest air," Trump said. "We're going to have the cleanest water. We will be environmentally friendly. But we're not going to put our businesses out of work. We're not going to lose our jobs."

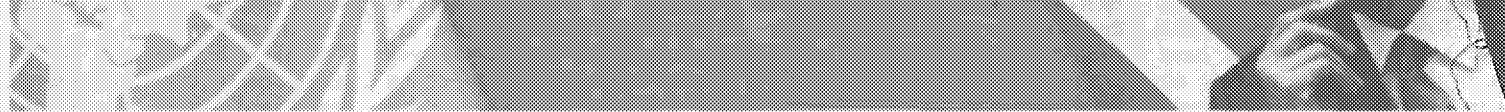
In a gesture to those who had encouraged him to remain in the accord, Trump said he was open to negotiating a new climate deal that, in his assessment, would be more fair to U.S. interests.

"We're getting out," he added, "but we will start to negotiate and we will see if we can make a deal that's fair. If we can, that's great. And if we can't, that's fine."

The leaders of France, Germany and Italy issued a joint statement voicing "regret" about Trump's move, promising to redouble their efforts to implement the Paris agreement and asserting that it cannot be renegotiated.

"We deem the momentum generated in Paris in December 2015 irreversible and we firmly believe that the Paris Agreement cannot be renegotiated, since it is a vital instrument for our planet, societies and economies," read the statement from French President Emmanuel Macron, German Chancellor Angela Merkel and Italian Prime Minister Paolo Gentiloni.

Trump spoke by phone with Merkel and Macron, as well as Canadian Prime Minister Justin Trudeau and British Prime Minister Theresa May — who led a chorus of world leaders urging



POOL PHOTO BY HOW HWEE YOUNG VIA AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE VIA GETTY IMAGES

Barack Obama, pictured last September in Hangzhou, China, on Thursday said the Paris climate agreement negotiated under his watch was the product of "steady, principled American leadership on the world stage" and said that it had broad support from the private sector.

Trump to keep the United States in the Paris agreement.

"He is making a mistake for the future of his country and his people and a mistake for the future of the planet," Macron said.

Erik Solheim, executive director of the United Nations Environment Program, said in an interview that "the biggest losers will be the American people."

"It's obviously regrettable," he said. "The world needs American leadership. However, the impact is less than most people would believe, because China, India and Europe will provide leadership."

Central to Trump's rationale was his feeling that the United States had been taken advantage of. Trump argued the Paris accord was so unfavorable to U.S. interests that other countries were laughing at America.

"The rest of the world applauded when we signed the Paris agreement," Trump said. "They went wild. They were so happy. For the simple reason that it put our country, the United States of America, which we all love, at a very, very big economic disadvantage."

The president, who recently returned from his maiden foreign trip, added, "We don't want other

leaders and other countries laughing at us anymore — and they won't be."

Obama strongly defended the Paris agreement as a measure to "protect the world we leave to our children." In a statement released Thursday, he said the pact was the product of "steady, principled American leadership on the world stage," pointing out that it had broad support from the private sector.

"I believe the United States of America should be at the front of the pack," Obama said. "But even in the absence of American leadership, even as this administration joins a small handful of nations that reject the future, I'm confident that our states, cities, and businesses will step up and do even more to lead the way, and help protect for future generations the one planet we've got."

A divide in Trump's camp

The atmosphere in the Rose Garden was celebratory, with a military band performing "Summertime" and other jazz hits as Cabinet members, White House staffers, conservative activists and other Trump supporters took their seats in the garden under a bright sun.

The scene was a reflection of the deep divide within the Trump administration over Paris. The president took much of the spring to make up his mind amid an intense campaign by both sides to influence his decision.

Secretary of State Rex Tillerson and Ivanka Trump, the president's daughter and adviser, are among those who urged him to stay in the deal, arguing it would be beneficial to the United States to remain part of negotiations and meetings surrounding the agreement as a matter of leverage and influence. Neither attended Thursday's ceremony.

White House chief strategist Stephen K. Bannon and Environmental Protection Agency Administrator Scott Pruitt pushed for a withdrawal. When Trump announced that he would pull out, there was a burst of applause and some whoops from the assembled crowd in the Rose Garden — and Bannon held his hands up in the air, clapping enthusiastically.

Introducing Trump, Vice President Pence said the climate decision was an example of the president putting what he sees as the interests of the United States above all else.

"Our president is choosing to

put American jobs and American consumers first," Pence said. "Our president is choosing to put American energy and American industry first. And by his action today, President Trump is choosing to put the forgotten men and women first."

More than 190 nations agreed to the accord in December 2015 in Paris, and 147 have since formally ratified or otherwise joined it, including the United States — representing more than 80 percent of the world's greenhouse gas emissions.

It's also heavily backed by U.S. and global corporations, including oil giants Royal Dutch Shell, ExxonMobil and BP. Large corporations, especially those operating in international markets, have had years to get used to the idea of reductions on carbon emissions, and they have been adapting their businesses accordingly for some time.

Withdrawing the United States from the agreement could take years because of the accord's legal structure and language, but such a move would weaken its goals almost immediately. The United States is the world's second-largest greenhouse gas emitter and would otherwise have accounted

Paris deal.

In Europe, a top German politician slammed Trump's decision, mocking him for his brusque brush-aside of a Balkan leader last week at a NATO meeting in Brussels. "You can withdraw from a climate agreement but not from climate change, Mr. Trump," Social Democratic leader Martin Schulz wrote on Twitter. "Reality isn't just another statesman you shove away."

But on Capitol Hill, Republican leaders praised Trump's move. Senate Majority Leader Mitch McConnell (R-Ky.) said in a statement, "I applaud President Trump and his administration for dealing yet another significant blow to the Obama Administration's assault on domestic energy production and jobs."

House Speaker Paul D. Ryan (R-Wis.) said, "The Paris climate agreement was simply a raw deal for America... I commend President Trump for fulfilling his commitment to the American people and withdrawing from this bad deal."

There was some Republican dissent, however. Sen. Susan Collins (R-Maine) tweeted: "Climate change requires a global approach. I'm disappointed in the President's decision."

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Brady Dennis, Juliet Eilperin and Chris Mooney in Washington, Michael Birbaum in Brussels and James McAuley in Paris contributed to this report.

After debate, Trump 'stayed where he's always been'

BY ASHLEY PARKER,
PHILIP RUCKER
AND MICHAEL BIRNBAUM

The pressure on President Trump to remain in the Paris climate accord came from all sides.

Silicon Valley titans, such as Apple chief executive Tim Cook and Tesla chief executive Elon Musk, contacted the White House directly, making clear just how seriously they viewed the issue of climate change — and how important it was to them that the president not withdraw from the international pact.

European leaders, including French President Emmanuel Macron and German Chancellor Angela Merkel, used a private summit of the Group of Seven world powers to repeatedly and urgently prod Trump to stay true to the climate deal.

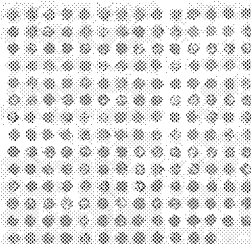
And Ivanka Trump, the president's daughter, reached out to chief executives and urged them to call her father to make their pro-business case for staying in the accord.

She even personally appealed to Andrew Liveris, the head of Dow Chemical, asking him to spearhead a letter with other CEOs — which ultimately ran as a

PARIS CONTINUED ON A13

In the Paris agreement

192 countries +
European Union +
Palestinian Authority



Out

United States
Syria
Nicaragua

THE WASHINGTON POST

China, India not stepping back
Asia's big polluters back deal but won't bridge the financial gap. **A11**

Breaking with Trump's decision
States, big firms press ahead with their climate policies. **A13**

Shift in global leadership
The U.S. may lose influence on trade and security issues, too. **A14**

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Trump's deliberative verdict? The same as his first instinct.

PARIS FROM A1

full-page advertisement in the Wall Street Journal in May — directly appealing to Trump to stay in the agreement, according to a person familiar with the effort.

But in the end, it was not enough.

On Thursday, in a Rose Garden ceremony, the president announced his plan to withdraw the United States from the Paris climate accord.

Trump had never liked the Paris accord. He viewed it as a “bad deal” and during the campaign had promised his base he would “cancel” the climate pact that he believed was hurting American workers.

His final, deliberative verdict was the same as his initial, gut-level one, according to this account of Trump's decision-making process, which is based on interviews Thursday with more than a dozen administration officials, Trump confidants, Republican operatives and European diplomats. Even so, the president listened and moderated months of often heated, and at times downright contentious, discussions among his own advisers, as well as scores of outsiders.

“He's stayed where he's always been, and not for a lack of trying by those who have an opposite opinion,” said Kellyanne Conway, counselor to the president. “He started with a conclusion, and the evidence brought him to the same conclusion.”

Nonetheless, the debate over what Trump should ultimately do — stay in the deal to push for changes or fully pull out — roiled the administration.

The fight pit Environmental

Protection Agency Administrator Scott Pruitt, chief strategist Stephen K. Bannon and White House Counsel Don McGahn — who all pushed for a total withdrawal — against Ivanka Trump, economic chief Gary Cohn and Secretary of State Rex Tillerson — who argued that the president would have more leverage by remaining an active participant in the climate deal.

During meetings with the president, Bannon, Pruitt and their allies came armed with reams of documents filled with numbers and statistics showing what they said would be the negative effects on the U.S. economy if the United States remained in the climate deal. They were, in the words of one Republican in frequent contact with the White House, “ready to go to trial.”

“They were presenting facts and figures,” Conway said. “They were really important. That was the evidentiary case.”

Some of those opposed to pulling out of the pact, however, said that much of the data the other side presented was either erroneous, scientifically dubious, misleading or out of date.

The Paris pact was a particular passion for Bannon, who spent the past two weeks consumed by the climate deal, including working feverishly from the West Wing after returning early from Trump's foreign trip, according to two White House officials familiar with the discussions. He pressed his case directly with the president — arguing that the Paris accord was a product of globalism and unpopular with Trump's base — and also worked with Pruitt to tilt the talks in that direction, providing political ballast to the policy and legal arguments made

by others on his side.

Ivanka Trump, meanwhile, helped lead the effort to stay in the deal. In meetings, she argued that withdrawing could hurt the United States' global image and weaken its moral authority abroad. She and her allies pushed the case that the president would have more leverage if he remained part of the agreement and negotiated from within.

The opposing camp, however, dismissed the substance of her appeal, brushing off her concerns as a hand-wringing question: “What will the world think of us?”

She also understood she might not be successful in swaying her father. But she helped implement a process in which Trump heard voices from all perspectives, from both inside and outside the administration.

Jared Kushner, a senior White House adviser and Ivanka's husband, agreed with the president that the Paris agreement was a bad deal. He felt that the carbon emissions standards were too high and that a U.N. fund that helps developing countries counter climate change was costing the United States too much. But he, too, felt Trump should not withdraw but simply renegotiate better terms.

Another, smaller contingent tried for an outside-the-box fix: Marc Short, Trump's director of legislative affairs, argued that the climate pact could be considered a treaty, in which case the president should send it to the Senate, which would need to ratify it by a two-thirds majority. Chief of Staff Reince Priebus and Nick Ayers, a senior strategist for Vice President Pence, both supported the idea. But it never gained much traction because the agreement

was specifically crafted as an agreement that did not need Senate ratification.

Some of the efforts to dissuade Trump from withdrawing actually had the reverse effect, further entrenching his original position. When Trump heard advocates arguing that the era of coal was coming to an end — something Cohn told reporters on last week's foreign trip and also a frequent talking point by some cable news pundits — Trump only became more adamant that pulling out of the Paris pact could help rescue the U.S. coal industry, said a Republican operative in close contact with the White House.

“When he hears people make comments like ‘Coal jobs don't matter anymore’ or ‘Those are going away,’ he thinks of all those people who got the election wrong and didn't realize that, no, these people are important to us,” the operative said. “That's when his populist message kicks in. It pushes him.”

Pressure from leaders abroad also backfired. One senior White House official characterized disappointing European allies as “a secondary benefit” of Trump's decision to withdraw.

When Trump touched down at a humid Sicilian air base last week, European leaders were already girding up for an argument at the G-7 summit. In Brussels, the president had just castigated NATO allies for their defense spending. But as leaders spoke during a closed-door NATO dinner, not one directly confronted him, seeking to save their political capital for a contentious discussion about climate change in Italy.

In the end, several officials said, the Group of Seven summit felt more like a Group of Six against

One, at least on climate issues, as every other leader went around the table urging Trump to remain in the Paris accord.

“There is a situation where six — if you take the E.U., seven — stand against one,” Merkel said after the meeting.

Merkel, who might be the second-most powerful leader in the world after Trump, also pressed a moral-based argument, according to one official who was in the room. If the United States pulled out, what would be the message to countries in Africa that could suffer most from global warming and nations like Fiji that are drowning under rising sea levels?

The official added that another leader brought up political arguments: Does the United States want to preserve the U.S. lead on the topic or hand it off to China and India? And a third made an economic pitch: By encouraging renewable energy, you boost the economy, you boost innovation and you stay competitive.

But Trump seemed unmoved by any of the appeals, instead telling the group that this was what he had promised during his election campaign and that he was protecting his voters, according to the official.

On the plane back from Sicily, Merkel did little to hide her disappointment, according to someone who traveled with her. She raved about Macron and his “keen perception.” There was no such praise for Trump, of whom she could only say, “He listened for hours.”

The Europeans were hardly the only ones upset by the president's decision. Among administration aides who wanted Trump to stay in the agreement, there was growing frustration, bordering on de-

spondency, that they had been unsuccessful in their effort.

Many had given up high-paying jobs outside the administration, sacrificed their quality of life, and were facing daily leaks and palace intrigue stories — only to feel as if they had been unable to influence the president on an issue of top importance.

But the president's mind was largely made up: He would withdraw from the Paris accord.

If he needed a nudge, though, one came from France over the weekend. Macron was quoted in a French journal talking about his white-knuckled handshake with Trump at their first meeting in Brussels, where the newly elected French president gripped Trump's hand tightly and would not let go for six long seconds in a show of alpha-male fortitude.

“My handshake was not innocent,” Macron said. He likened Trump to a pair of authoritarian strongmen — Russian President Vladimir Putin and Turkish President Recep Tayyip Erdogan — and said that he was purposefully forceful because he believed his encounter with Trump was “a moment of truth.”

Hearing smack-talk from the Frenchman 31 years his junior irritated and bewildered Trump, aides said.

A few days later, Trump got his revenge. He proclaimed from the Rose Garden, “I was elected to represent the citizens of Pittsburgh, not Paris.”

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States, firms vow to press ahead with climate policies

More than two dozen big companies urged Trump to remain in the pact

BY STEVEN MUFSON

Thirty states and scores of companies said Thursday that they would press ahead with their climate policies and pursue lower greenhouse-gas emissions, breaking sharply with President Trump's decision to exit the historic Paris climate accord.

In a pointed rebuttal to Trump's announcement in the Rose Garden of the White House, New York Gov. Andrew M. Cuomo (D) unveiled a plan to invest \$1.65 billion in renewable energy and energy efficiency on Thursday, the largest procurement of renewable energy by a state.

Meanwhile, more than two dozen big companies, including Apple, Morgan Stanley and Royal Dutch Shell, urged Trump not to exit the Paris agreement.

Trump framed his renunciation of the Paris accord as a historic moment in defense of American workers and the economy. But the actions in state capitals and corporate board rooms provided a counterpoint to Trump's argument.

Across the nation and the economy, renewable-energy technologies have taken root and gathered momentum while creating thousands of jobs, state and corporate officials said. And the pressure on executives to address climate change has grown as major financial advisory firms for the first time used their shares to



JABIN BOTSFORD/THE WASHINGTON POST

President Trump speaks about the U.S. role in the Paris climate accord at the White House Rose Garden, while many big firms are breaking with his decision to exit.

...standard firms provided a con-
terpoint to Trump's argument.

Across the nation and the economy, renewable-energy technologies have taken root and gathered momentum while creating thousands of jobs, state and corporate officials said. And the pressure on executives to address climate change has grown as major financial advisory firms for the first time used their shares to press their views on the issue.

Trump's decision to exit the landmark agreement will damage the United States' international standing on climate issues, officials said.

Hours after Trump's announcement, Robert Iger, chief executive of Walt Disney Co., tweeted that he had resigned from the president's advisory council "as a matter of principle" over the withdrawal from the Paris accord.

Lloyd Blankfein, chief executive of Goldman Sachs, tweeted that Trump's decision "is a setback for the environment and for the U.S.'s leadership position in the world."

Meanwhile, Cuomo unveiled his plan for \$1.5 billion in renewable energy and energy efficiency measures. In an interview, his aides said he would spend an additional \$150 million to give solar energy a boost on the rooftops of schools and other public buildings.

While Trump has cited his concern about coal jobs in withdrawing from the agreement, Cuomo said his latest energy initiative, combined with earlier measures,

would create 40,000 jobs by 2020 — nearly twice the current number of mining and logging jobs in West Virginia, according to the Bureau of Labor Statistics.

Cuomo, who has made renewable energy a priority since Hurricane Sandy in 2012, expects the state's solar capacity to more than double, to about 1,600 megawatts, by the end of 2018. He said he would provide new incentives for the installation of 125 megawatts of solar on the rooftops of schools and other government buildings. The governor added that the state has established a partnership with a consortium of banks to finance energy and solar projects.

"As the federal government abdicates its responsibility to address climate change — at the expense of our environment and economy — New York is leading the nation in advancing a clean energy future," Cuomo said in a statement. He said that with the package of measures, "New York continues to tackle the challenges of climate change and create the high-quality, good-paying careers

of tomorrow."

Cuomo isn't alone. About 30 states have adopted mandates for utilities to increase their use of renewable energy, standards that will not change with Trump's withdrawal from the Paris accord or his effort to nullify the Obama administration's Clean Power Plan.

In California, the state Senate voted to make utilities use 100 percent renewable energy by 2045 and 60 percent by 2030. The current standard in California and New York is for utilities to get 50 percent of their power from renewable sources by 2030.

Though the California Senate measure must still win approval of the state Assembly and Gov. Jerry Brown (D), it sent a signal. "It draws a huge contrast between Trump wanting to go backwards and states trying to take the lead in tackling the climate crisis," said Anna Aurilio, legislative director of Environment America.

"The California economy last year increased 40 percent faster than the rest of the country," Brown said on a conference call

Thursday. "In fact, following policies even tougher than what Paris is calling for, the California economy is boosted. Trump is wrong when he says Paris is bad for jobs. It's good for jobs — the jobs of the future."

Cuomo, Brown and Washington Gov. Jay Inslee (D) said they were forming a coalition of states determined to stick to the Paris targets. The three states account for a fifth of the U.S. economy.

Many energy experts say that progress will continue on greenhouse-gas emissions even if the United States drops out of the Paris agreement.

"The net impact to our emissions performance is likely zero to negligible," said Andy Karsner, former principal climate negotiator for President George W. Bush. "I don't actually believe for a moment that a withdrawal from Paris is tantamount to abating our efforts, direction or momentum toward increased penetration of clean-energy technologies. Washington does not have the power to put the genie back in the bottle."

Karsner compared renewable-energy progress to the Pony Express. "When the Pony Express changed to airmail, then the Pony Express was done. Obsolete," he said. "When the Pony Express gives way to email, then the Pony Express is a distant memory, a romantic relic. That's what is happening in the world of energy technology. That has been our national aspiration for decades. . . . And we have a president who wants to quit the game."

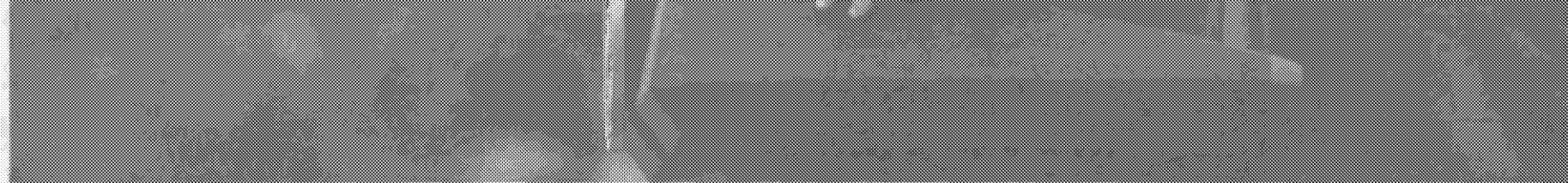
Trump's announcement coincides with signs that climate concerns are growing in the financial community. A resolution instructing corporate managements to do the climate equivalent of a financial stress test — describing in detail the effects of government policies designed to limit global warming to 2 degrees Celsius — has been adopted at Occidental Petroleum, the utility PPL and ExxonMobil over the protests of management. Major financial advisory firms Vanguard, BlackRock and State Street bucked tradition and backed the resolutions.

On Thursday, 25 major companies took out a full-page advertisement in the New York Times with a letter addressed to Trump. The companies — including Google, Intel, Microsoft and Schneider Electric — urged Trump to stay in the Paris accord.

"As businesses concerned with the well-being of our customers, our investors, our communities and our suppliers, we are strengthening our climate resilience," the letter said, "and we are investing in innovative technologies that can help achieve a clean energy transition." But it said that government and U.S. leadership is essential, too.

Separately, Royal Dutch Shell said in a statement that it had shared with the Trump administration "our strong support for the U.S. remaining in the agreement." It added, "for our part, we will continue to take internal actions and convene important conversations that acknowledge our role in providing more and cleaner energy."

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JABIN BOTSFORD/THE WASHINGTON POST

President Trump speaks about the U.S. role in the Paris climate accord at the White House Rose Garden, while many big firms are breaking with his decision to exit.

Experts see shift in global leadership in U.S. withdrawal

BY CAROL MORELLO
AND JOHN WAGNER

In ditching the Paris accord on climate change, President Trump has cemented his reputation as the international disrupter in chief with the latest in a string of decisions that foreign policy analysts believe could have profound consequences for U.S. global leadership.

The decision to exit the Paris agreement is sure to anger many of the almost 200 nations that signed the commitment to reduce emissions. In one sign of shifting alliances, the European Union and China were expected to issue a joint statement Friday vowing to take a leading role in stemming climate change. China in particular is expected to fill any leadership vacuum created by the U.S. retreat, both in climate change and trade.

"It's going to seriously complicate any effort President Trump makes to build a counterterrorism coalition or mobilize the West on any set of policy issues," said Bruce Jones, director of the foreign policy program at the Brookings Institution.

"It's an odd calculation," he said. "They gain nothing from leaving and lose a lot."

Abandoning the 2015 accord championed by the Obama administration reflects Trump's disdain for big, multilateral agreements and alliances, an opinion he expressed often on the campaign trail and followed through in office by ditching the Trans-Pacific Partnership, threatening to leave the North American Free Trade Agreement and upbraiding NATO allies.

Barry Bennett, a political adviser to Trump during the campaign, said no one should be caught unaware by Trump's actions.



GEERT VANDEN WUNGAERT/ASSOCIATED PRESS

President Trump, NATO Secretary General Jens Stoltenberg and German Chancellor Angela Merkel walk through NATO headquarters at the alliance's summit last week in Brussels.

"They should have gone to a rally," he said. "They wouldn't be surprised at all."

Bennett described what is taking place as a recalibration of U.S. priorities.

"Sometimes we have valued our relationship with Europeans over the lives of hard-working Americans," he said.

Last week at NATO, Trump left leaders uncertain about the U.S. commitment to come to Europe's defense and led German Chancellor Angela Merkel to say that Europeans cannot rely on others. In the clearest foreshadowing he would nix the Paris pact, Trump was the only leader at a meeting of the Group of Seven leading industrial democracies who did not endorse it.

Trump's approach underscores how in barely four months he has succeeded in reshaping Ameri-

ca's role in the world.

"Having pulled out of the Paris accord, after sowing doubt at NATO and killing the TPP, President Trump is on the way to ending the U.S.-led international order," said Cliff Kupchan, chairman of the Eurasia Group, a firm that assesses political risks. "I think we're heading toward a Hobbesian, each-on-his-own world."

Many in the foreign policy establishment believe the pullbacks have undermined U.S. influence and credibility.

"Other countries will be less willing to engage with us," said David Victor, director of the Laboratory on International Law and Regulation at the University of California at San Diego. "It creates a vacuum others will try to fill. It will make it harder for the United States to advance its

interests."

Much of what has rankled the foreign policy community are actions Trump promised during the campaign as part of his "America first" agenda. As a candidate, he repeatedly said that he would "cancel the Paris climate agreement." In a document released toward the end of the campaign and outlining his plans for the first 100 days, Trump pledged to "cancel billions in payments to U.N. climate change programs and use the money to fix America's water and environmental infrastructure."

On other promises with foreign policy implications, Trump has shown more flexibility. He said he would "label China a currency manipulator," a promise he has backed off while seeking more cooperation from Beijing in containing North Korea's

nuclear ambitions.

John Bolton, a senior fellow at the American Enterprise Institute, said that Trump has shown that unlike some European allies, he is not embracing "this ideological commitment to multilateralism for its own sake."

Bolton said that the administration of President George W. Bush, in which he served, was branded as isolationist for several actions during its tenure, including a decision to pull out of the International Criminal Court. What was happening then — and now — is "a series of decisions about what was in the best interests of the United States," he said.

Like Trump, Bush was just a few months into his presidency when he decided to withdraw the United States from a major multinational climate agreement negotiated by his predecessor. The 1997 Kyoto treaty on global warming had been signed by 192 nations, almost as many as the 195 that signed the Paris agreement.

Timothy Naftali, a presidential historian at New York University, said no president has done so much so early in his term to unilaterally alter the world order.

"Ronald Reagan had to have a partner in upending the world order, and that was Mikhail Gorbachev," he said. "Nixon tried to change American foreign policy, but it took him several years. Trump seems to be doing it on caffeine."

Many multinational institutions, with the United States in a leadership role, emerged from World War II when American dominance arose almost by default with so many other countries in ruins. But the old world order has been declining for years now, with China's rise as an economic and military power.

Now, China is positioned to

move into the void left by the United States. At the World Economic Forum in Davos, Switzerland, this year, Chinese President Xi Jinping gave a speech extolling the virtues of globalized trade as the United States appeared to be turning inward. The U.S. abandonment of the Paris accord represents another opportunity. On Thursday, Chinese Premier Li Keqiang stood beside Merkel in Berlin and declared the fight against climate change a "global consensus" and an "international responsibility." He noted that China was one of the first countries to ratify the Paris accord.

"Xi Jinping is sitting in Beijing and can't believe what's happening to him," said Ivo Daalder, a former U.S. representative to NATO and now president of the Chicago Council on Global Affairs. "The United States' retreat from leadership means China can move in America's wake. We're seeing the possibility of a shift in global leadership, away from Washington and the United States toward Beijing and China."

Others see no cause for alarm. Stephen Moore, a distinguished visiting fellow at the Heritage Foundation, said that Trump was exerting a different kind of leadership by pulling out of an agreement that he said would cost middle-class jobs and lead to an increase in energy prices for Americans.

"The most important role for the United States is to lead by example," said Moore, who has advised Trump on economic issues. "When we get it right on economic policy, it tends to get exported to the rest of the world. It's important that the U.S. show leadership on free-market policies."

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Message

From: Bowman, Liz [/O=EXCHANGELABS/OU=EXCHANGE ADMINISTRATIVE GROUP (FYDIBOHF23SPDLT)/CN=RECIPIENTS/CN=C3D4D94D3E4B4B1F80904056703EBC80-BOWMAN, ELI]
Sent: 5/18/2017 4:00:30 PM
To: Vaughan, Aubrey (Paul) [Aubrey_Vaughan@paul.senate.gov]
Subject: RE: Potential op-ed

Hi Aubrey – Please give me a call at 202-309-3416. Thank you – Liz Bowman

From: Vaughan, Aubrey (Paul) [mailto:Aubrey_Vaughan@paul.senate.gov]
Sent: Wednesday, May 17, 2017 2:09 PM
To: Bowman, Liz <Bowman.Liz@epa.gov>
Subject: Potential op-ed

Hi Liz,

What's your phone number? I wanted to connect you with a press person in Sen. Paul's office on an op-ed we're drafting re: Paris Agreement.

Thanks!

--

Aubrey Vaughan
Legislative Counsel
Office of Senator Rand Paul
(202) 224-6515

Message

From: Bowman, Liz [/O=EXCHANGELABS/OU=EXCHANGE ADMINISTRATIVE GROUP (FYDIBOHF23SPDLT)/CN=RECIPIENTS/CN=C3D4D94D3E4B4B1F80904056703EBC80-BOWMAN, ELI]
Sent: 5/23/2017 3:35:49 PM
To: Lyons, Troy [lyons.troy@epa.gov]
Subject: RE: Contact info

Ha, I see what you did there.

From: Lyons, Troy
Sent: Tuesday, May 23, 2017 9:32 AM
To: Graham, Amy <graham.amy@epa.gov>
Cc: Bennett, Tate <Bennett.Tate@epa.gov>; Bowman, Liz <Bowman.Liz@epa.gov>
Subject: Re: Contact info

Merci beaucoup

Sent from my iPhone

On May 23, 2017, at 9:30 AM, Graham, Amy <graham.amy@epa.gov> wrote:

From: Sergio Gor [<mailto:sergio@randpaul.com>]
Sent: Tuesday, May 23, 2017 9:23 AM
To: Graham, Amy <graham.amy@epa.gov>
Subject: Re: Contact info

fyi

ICYMI: Dr. Rand Paul: “Say Au Revoir to Paris Climate Agreement”

WASHINGTON, D.C. – In his latest op-ed for Fox News, U.S. Senator Rand Paul urged the Trump administration to withdraw from the Paris Agreement.

“Can we really have an America First energy plan if we are needing to seek the endorsement of the UN as we make

determinations about our country's environmental and energy policies," **Dr. Paul asked** in the piece. "The federal government should be beholden to one authority and one authority alone — our Constitution — and not some UN bureaucrats."

You can read Dr. Paul's op-ed [HERE](#) or below.

<http://www.foxnews.com/opinion/2017/05/22/sen-rand-paul-say-au-revoir-to-paris-climate-agreement.html>

On Wed, May 17, 2017 at 6:24 PM, Sergio Gor <Sergio@randpaul.com> wrote:

Looking forward to this - likely will introduce on Tuesday and we will do a full press court - tv, radio and host reporters in the office

Would SP be interested in a joint media call with Rand and national reporters?

On Wed, May 17, 2017 at 4:52 PM, Graham, Amy <graham.amy@epa.gov> wrote:

Hey – Good chatting with you, Sergio. Including all my contact info below.

Thanks!

Amy Graham

Deputy Associate Administrator for Public Engagement

U.S. Environmental Protection Agency

Graham.amy@epa.gov

[202-564-4464](tel:202-564-4464) (office)

[202-306-5038](tel:202-306-5038) (cell)

.....
.....

Message

From: Bowman, Liz [/O=EXCHANGELABS/OU=EXCHANGE ADMINISTRATIVE GROUP (FYDIBOHF23SPDLT)/CN=RECIPIENTS/CN=C3D4D94D3E4B4B1F80904056703EBC80-BOWMAN, ELI]
Sent: 6/2/2017 6:47:03 PM
To: Jahan Wilcox (wilcox.jahan@epa.gov) [wilcox.jahan@epa.gov]
Subject: FW: The Daily Caller: Inside The 'Resistance' To The Paris Climate Accord And How They Held Trump To His Promise, 6/2/17

Good

From: McGonagle, Kevin
Sent: Friday, June 2, 2017 10:39 AM
To: AO OPA OMR CLIPS <AO_OPA_OMR_CLIPS@epa.gov>
Subject: The Daily Caller: Inside The 'Resistance' To The Paris Climate Accord And How They Held Trump To His Promise, 6/2/17

The Daily Caller

<http://dailycaller.com/2017/06/02/inside-the-resistance-to-the-paris-climate-accord-and-how-they-held-trump-to-his-promise/>

Inside The 'Resistance' To The Paris Climate Accord And How They Held Trump To His Promise

By Michael Bastasch 6/2/17 9:33 AM

President Donald Trump announced he would fulfill his campaign promise to withdraw from the Paris agreement on climate change, eviscerating a signature achievement of the Obama administration.

Trump's decision came after weeks of intense lobbying from both sides of the Paris accord debate. Corporations, environmentalists and Democrats urged Trump to stick with the deal, while Republicans and conservative groups pushed for withdrawal.

More intense was the debate within the White House itself. Key staffers were lined on both sides of the issue, making Trump's decision to withdraw a lengthier process than many anticipated.

While the decision was ultimately Trump's to make, there were many people working behind the scenes and in public to make sure the president kept his campaign promise to "cancel" the climate accord.

Conservative groups, White House officials and Republican lawmakers worked behind the scenes and in the media as part of the "resistance" movement to the Paris accord, which the Obama administration joined in 2016.

They worked to nudge Trump in the direction of withdrawing from Paris, constantly reminding him of the legal risks to not fulfilling his promise to supporters.

A letter from Senate Majority Leader Mitch McConnell and 21 other top Republican lawmakers in late May "reinforced Trump's instincts to withdraw" from the Paris agreement, Axios reported, but key administration personnel and conservative heavy-hitters also played a role.

When Trump officially announced his withdrawal from the Paris accord Thursday, Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) Administrator Scott Pruitt walked up to the podium in the Rose Garden to speak. Many in the media saw this as his victory.

Politico reports Pruitt “used his new post as EPA administrator to orchestrate an aggressive campaign to marshal conservative opposition to the Paris agreement.” That campaign included having EPA staffers urge conservative groups to go public with their concerns about the Paris agreement.

Pruitt was the only Trump administration official to publicly bash the accord. In TV appearances in April and May, Pruitt called Paris a “bad deal” that put America “last.”

“Paris is something that we need to really look at closely. It’s something we need to exit in my opinion,” Pruitt told Fox News in April.

Pruitt’s public criticisms of the Paris agreement bolstered conservative groups and Republican officials who opposed sticking with an international deal that never got Senate approval.

But it wasn’t Pruitt’s victory alone.

Trump’s international energy policy adviser George David Banks worked tirelessly with outsiders to nudge the president to withdraw from Paris, according to a source familiar with the efforts.

Banks, who worked in the Bush administration, ran a pseudo campaign out of the White House, “including editing letters from third parties,” a source told The Daily Caller News Foundation.

Others in the White House who opposed the Paris agreement reached out to “people outside the administration to help amplify the message,” the source said, “but it was nowhere near as aggressive as Dave Banks’ effort.”

White House adviser Mike Catanzaro also played a role in the effort to ditch the Paris agreement, but general counsel Donald McGahn was “probably the most pivotal voice” in the White House advocating for a withdrawal from the Paris agreement, according to the source.

“We were having trouble getting traction on the argument that the agreement poses some legal risk,” the source said. “Until he joined the conversation.”

During two closed-door meetings in late April and early May, McGahn raised concerns with Trump about the legal risks of staying party to the Paris agreement, Politico reported. McGahn warned the U.S. may not be able to adjust its pledge to cut emissions and that environmentalists could use the Paris agreement to undermine Trump’s deregulatory agenda.

McGahn’s interjection “shocked” Department of State lawyers who largely made the case for staying in the Paris agreement, according to Politico. Secretary of State Rex Tillerson publicly came out in favor of the Paris agreement during his confirmation hearing in January.

Banks, McGahn and White House chief strategist Steve Bannon led the administration faction opposed to the Paris agreement. They ended up butting heads with pro-Paris advisers Ivanka Trump, Jared Kushner and Gary Cohn. Secretary of State Rex Tillerson and Energy Secretary Rick Perry also favored staying in the Paris accord.

In early May, the heads of 44 free market groups sent a letter to Trump, urging him to withdraw from the agreement. The coalition was led by the Competitive Enterprise Institute (CEI).

CEI was “the energy” and “enabled the issue to stay high profile in the White House for months,” an administration source told Axios.

In May, CEI launched an online petition and ad campaign to remind Trump of his campaign promise to withdraw from the Paris accord, and AEA circulated another petition calling for Trump to withdraw from the agreement.

CEI senior fellows Chris Horner and Marlo Lewis published a report detailing the legal risks of remaining in the accord. CEI's Myron Ebell, who headed Trump's EPA transition team, was also public about his opposition to the Paris agreement.

The source told Axios that CEI also "helped generate" the letter from Senate Republicans that reportedly gave Trump the final nudge he needed to announce a withdrawal from Paris. The letter reminded Trump why he opposed Paris in the first place — it didn't put America first.

About a week before Trump made his decision, McConnell led a group of 22 GOP Senators urging Trump to withdraw from the Paris agreement. McConnell's letter to Trump reportedly "reinforced" the president's pre-existing inclination to leave Paris.

"I think there's a lot of credit due to a lot of people. It's been a tough fight, and both sides have done about all that can be done," a source in the conservative movement told TheDCNF.

Kevin McGonagle
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Message

From: Bennett, Tate [Bennett.Tate@epa.gov]
Sent: 5/26/2017 4:51:44 PM
To: Ferguson, Lincoln [ferguson.lincoln@epa.gov]
Subject: Fwd: Shimkus Op-Ed: Say Adieu to the Paris Agreement

Begin forwarded message:

From: "Ringel, Aaron" <ringel.aaron@epa.gov>
Date: May 26, 2017 at 12:35:27 PM EDT
To: "Lyons, Troy" <lyons.troy@epa.gov>, "Bennett, Tate" <Bennett.Tate@epa.gov>, "Bowman, Liz" <Bowman.Liz@epa.gov>, "Graham, Amy" <graham.amy@epa.gov>, "Palich, Christian" <palich.christian@epa.gov>
Subject: FW: Shimkus Op-Ed: Say Adieu to the Paris Agreement

FYI

From: Haverly, Jordan [mailto:Jordan.Haverly@mail.house.gov]
Sent: Friday, May 26, 2017 12:33 PM
Subject: Shimkus Op-Ed: Say Adieu to the Paris Agreement

Good afternoon –

Just wanted to flag the op-ed below by Congressman John Shimkus that ran in this morning's Southern Illinoisan. Please let me know if you have any questions.

Thanks, and have a great Memorial Day weekend.

Jordan

Jordan Haverly
Communications Director & Policy Adviser
Congressman John Shimkus (IL-15)
(202) 225-5271 | Cell: (217) 820-9812

SHIMKUS: Say adieu to the Paris Agreement

Like much of the previous administration's climate legacy, the Paris Agreement never had the support it would need to become the law of the land. Neither executive agreements nor executive actions are a substitute for legislation or treaties, and neither the deal itself nor the Obama Administration's policies stemming from it were supported by the majority of Congress.

As Congress continues to work with President Donald Trump and Environmental Protection Agency Administrator Scott Pruitt to roll back those rules and regulations through a combination of legislative and administrative actions, the United States should consider exiting

the Paris Agreement as well. By doing so, it would be made clear that we will not sacrifice our jobs, affordable electricity, and economic competitiveness.

The fact is, America's global leadership will not be harmed by exiting the agreement — an agreement we arguably never fully opted into in the first place. On the contrary, bidding adieu to the Paris Agreement would demonstrate to our friends and foes alike that the United States government is bound not by the wishes of one administration, but by the will of the people.

It's also time to be realistic about the agreement itself. The truth is that even if the United States stopped 100 percent of our carbon dioxide emissions tomorrow, it would make little difference in international climate projections. Former Secretary of State John Kerry even conceded, in Paris no less, that "if all the industrial nations went down to zero emissions — remember what I just said, all the industrial emissions went down to zero emissions — it wouldn't be enough" to alter global temperatures to the degree demanded by the environmental left.

My friends on the other side of this debate counter that more than 600 companies — including some of the largest multinational corporations — have urged the United States to remain in the agreement, and that staying somehow gives the U.S. more leverage in what is supposedly a voluntary deal. But there are a few holes in both those assertions.

The first is obvious. If any one of those companies wished to take actions within the scope of their business that they believe will improve the Earth's environment, nothing in the Paris Agreement or any existing U.S. law prevents them from doing so. No corporation should need permission from the federal government to reduce their emissions.

The second is less easy to see. While voluntary, national commitments made under the agreement may not be enforced by the international community, Big Green groups may attempt to seek enforcement of President Obama's promises in a U.S. court. Whether they succeed or not, the litigation would waste EPA's time and resources that would be better spent on their core, congressionally-mandated functions.

For these reasons and more, President Trump should heed his advisers urging him to leave the Paris Agreement. And Congress and the administration should continue to work together to bring the power back to the people and the states — putting the consumer first, focusing on creating good paying, American jobs, and capitalizing on our nation's energy abundance.

###

Message

From: Hale, Michelle [hale.michelle@epa.gov]
Sent: 5/9/2017 3:52:55 PM
To: Jackson, Ryan [jackson.ryan@epa.gov]; Ferguson, Lincoln [ferguson.lincoln@epa.gov]
Subject: FW: Tom Harris: "Killing The Paris Agreement Is Not Enough"

Importance: High

From: Joseph Bast [mailto:JBast@heartland.org]
Sent: Tuesday, May 9, 2017 10:46 AM
Subject: Tom Harris: "Killing The Paris Agreement Is Not Enough"
Importance: High

Friends,

Outstanding piece by Tom Harris at Daily Caller.

This really is a case where cutting the tail off the dog all at once, rather than an inch at a time, is the right move. Withdrawal from the UNFCCC, something the old diplomatic guard and crony capitalists say is impossible, is the right thing to do now. It would be the shot heard around the world and bring the whole AGW house of cards tumbling down.

Tom can be reached at tom.harris@climatescienceinternational.net or

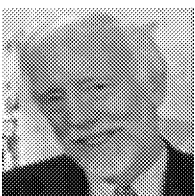
Tom Harris, B. Eng., M. Eng. (Mech.)
Executive Director,
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Joe

<http://dailycaller.com/2017/05/08/killing-the-paris-agreement-is-not-enough/>

Killing The Paris Agreement Is Not Enough



Tom Harris

5:50 PM 05/08/2017

If President Donald Trump merely pulls the United States out of the Paris Agreement on climate change, it will be like cutting the head off a dandelion. It will look good for a while until equally bad agreements quickly grow back when a Democrat occupies the White House again. Trump needs to dig up the roots of Paris—the 1992 U.N. climate treaty—if he is to keep his campaign promise to “stop all payments of the United States tax dollars to U.N. global warming programs.”

Trump can, and should, get the U.S. out of the Paris Agreement, of course. Besides the scientifically unfounded objective of “holding the increase in the global average temperature to well below 2°C above pre-industrial levels,” as if we had a global thermostat, the agreement lets so-called developing countries almost entirely off the hook despite the fact that non-OECD countries are now the greatest source of energy related emissions. Consider the agreement’s emission targets for the U.S. versus China, currently the world’s largest emitter, for example:

- The Obama administration agreed to an economy-wide target of reducing U.S. greenhouse gas (82% of which is carbon dioxide (CO₂)) emissions by 26%-28% below its 2005 level in 2025.
- China agreed “to achieve the peaking of CO₂ emissions around 2030” and to other measures such as those designed to increase the share of non-fossil fuels in primary energy consumption. Taking into consideration expected economic growth in China and other factors, their target translates into about a 70% *increase* above its 2005 level in 2025.

Yet writing in the Chicago Tribune, Paul Bodnar, a Special Assistant to former-President Obama and a key architect of the 2014 U.S.-China deal (which has the same emission targets as Paris), echoes the position of many opinion leaders when he asserted, “The Paris Agreement...puts China, India, and other emerging markets on equal footing with the United States.”

Obviously, nothing could be further from the truth. It will not even be necessary for developing nations to meet their weak Paris emission targets anyway. They have an out-clause, one not applicable to developed countries.

The Paris Agreement starts:

“The Parties to this Agreement, being Parties to the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change [FCCC], hereinafter referred to as ‘the Convention’,...”

“The Convention,” referenced 51 times in the Paris Agreement, is the foundation of the agreement. It is the 1992 U.N. climate treaty signed by President George H. W. Bush at the Earth Summit in Rio de Janeiro and later was ratified by the U.S. Senate. It sets the ground rules for many U.N. climate agreements, including Paris.

Ignored by environmental groups and their allies in the media is Article 4 in the FCCC, which states:

“Economic and social development and poverty eradication are the first and overriding priorities of the developing country Parties.”

Actions that significantly reduce CO₂ emissions would entail dramatically cutting back on the use of coal, the source of most of the developing world’s electricity. As coal is usually the least expensive source of power, reducing CO₂ output by restricting coal use would undoubtedly interfere with development priorities.

So developing countries almost certainly won't do it, citing FCCC Article 4 as their excuse. President Rodrigo Duterte of the Philippines (his country gets almost a third of its power from coal) gave us a preview of what we should expect when he said last July:

"You are trying to stymie [our growth] with an agreement ... That's stupid. I will not honor that."

Climate treaty supporters have speculated that the inclusion of a new phrase added to the agreements in 2014—that countries' responsibilities will be decided "in light of different national circumstances"—will impose tougher requirements on poor nations as they develop.

This is naïve.

Article 4 has been the foundation of all UN climate negotiations, and developing countries will not allow this to change. Chinese negotiator Su Wei made this clear when he explained his government's position that the purpose of the Paris Agreement is to "reinforce and enhance" the FCCC, not rewrite it.

Before leaving office, Obama did his best to 'Trump-proof' his climate change agenda; even giving \$1/2 billion to the U.N. climate fund in his last three days. Trump needs to Democrat-proof his agenda and clearly, the best way to do that is to withdraw from the FCCC completely, which he can do without Senate approval. Unlike Paris, which stipulates that the earliest a country can quit the agreement is November 2020, withdrawal from the FCCC is allowed with one year's notice. And both Article 25 of the FCCC and Article 28 of the Paris Agreement concur—once a signatory exits the Convention, they are out of all agreements that are based on the FCCC, including Paris.

If all the president does is withdraw from the Paris Agreement, then not only will the U.S. still be stuck with huge bills from the U.N.'s Green Climate Fund and other misguided FCCC-based initiatives, but Trump will be leaving the door wide open for future Democratic presidents to easily get the U.S. back into another Paris. This is precisely what happened in Canada.

In 2011, the Conservative government withdrew from the Kyoto Protocol but did not withdraw from the FCCC. So when the Conservatives lost power in 2015, it was easy for the new Liberal government to agree to another FCCC-based treaty—the Paris Agreement. The agreement starts, "This Agreement shall be open for signature ... by States ... that are Parties to the Convention." Therefore, had Canada no longer been party to the Convention, signing on to Paris would have been more difficult.

As with most weeds, a thick, healthy lawn, mowed high, is your best defense against dandelions. Similarly, the best defense against expensive and unwarranted climate change agreements is healthy, open debate, independent of political correctness. Trump has done Americans a great service by encouraging the debate. Now, he has to finish the job and pull the Paris weed out by its roots by withdrawing the U.S. from the FCCC.

Tom Harris is executive director of the Ottawa, Canada-based [International Climate Science Coalition](#).

Message

From: McGonagle, Kevin [mcgonagle.kevin@epa.gov]
Sent: 5/3/2017 2:15:01 PM
To: Press [Press@epa.gov]
Subject: Newspaper clips 5/3/17 - attached
Attachments: NYT_5-3-17_Clippling_envirorules.pdf; NYT_5-3-17_Clippling_Paris.pdf; WSJ_5-3-17_Clippling_opinion.pdf

There are 3 clips for today.

New York Times – 2
Wall Street Journal – 1

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23 Environmental Rules Rolled Back in Trump's First 100 Days

By NADJA POPOVICH and TATIANA SCHLOSSBERG

President Trump, with help from his administration and Republicans in Congress, has reversed course on nearly two dozen environmental rules, regulations and other Obama-era policies during his first 100 days in office.

Citing federal overreach and burdensome regulations, Mr.

Trump has prioritized domestic fossil fuel interests and undone measures aimed at protecting the environment and limiting global warming.

We've tracked the major rollbacks — and who wanted them — in chronological order below.

OVERTURNED

1. Approved the **Dakota Access pipeline**. Feb. 7

Republicans in Congress criticized President Barack Obama for delaying construction of the pipeline — which they argued would create jobs and stimulate the economy — after protests led by the Standing Rock Sioux Tribe. Mr. Trump ordered an expedited review of the pipeline, and the Army approved it.

2. Revoked a rule that prevented coal mining companies from **dumping debris into local streams**. Feb. 16

The coal industry said the rule was overly burdensome, calling it part of the war on coal. Congress passed a bill revoking the rule, which Mr. Trump signed into law.

3. Canceled a requirement for **reporting methane**

groups opposed the updated planning rule for public lands, arguing that it gave the federal government too much power at the expense of local and business interests. Congress passed a bill revoking the rule, which Mr. Trump signed into law.

6. Lifted a freeze on **new coal leases** on public lands. March 29

Coal companies weren't thrilled about the Obama administration's three-year freeze on new leases on public lands pending an environmental review. Ryan Zinke, the interior secretary, revoked the freeze and review, though he promised to set up a new advisory committee to review coal royalties.

7. Rejected a ban on a **potentially harmful insecticide**. March 29

The company that sells the insecticide, Dow Agrosciences, strongly opposed a risk analysis by the Obama-era E.P.A., which found that the insecticide Chlorpyrifos poses a risk to fetal brain and

agencies to account for greenhouse gas emissions and potential climate effects in environmental impact reviews. They argued that the government lacked the authority to make such recommendations, and that it would be impossible to plan for the uncertain effects of climate change.

UNDER REVIEW

10. Ordered review and "elimination" of rule that **protected tributaries and wetlands** under the Clean Water Act. Feb. 28

Farmers, real estate developers, golf course owners and many Republicans opposed this clarification of the Clean Water Act, arguing that it created regulatory burdens. Mr. Trump called it a "massive power grab" by the federal government and instructed the E.P.A. and the Army to conduct a review.

11. Reopened a review of **fuel efficiency standards**

signature climate change policy — posed a threat to the coal industry, and had mounted a legal challenge. Mr. Trump signed an executive order instructing the E.P.A. to review and re-evaluate the rule. An appeals court recently approved the Trump administration's request to put the lawsuit on hold during the review process.

13. Rolled back limits on **toxic discharge from power plants** into public waterways. April 12

Utility and fossil fuel industry groups opposed the rule, which limited the amount of toxic metals — arsenic, lead, and mercury, among others — power plants could release into public waterways. Industry representatives said complying with the guidelines would be extremely expensive. The E.P.A. has delayed compliance deadlines while it reconsiders the rule, which had been challenged in court.

14. Ordered review of rule limiting **methane emissions at new oil and gas drilling**

and regulations. April 28

Lobbyists for the oil industry were opposed to Mr. Obama's use of the Outer Continental Shelf Lands Act to permanently ban offshore drilling along the Atlantic coast and much of the ocean around Alaska, as well as two regulations around oil rig safety.

IN LIMBO

17. Withdrew a rule that would help consumers buy **more fuel-efficient tires**. Jan. 26

The rule required tire manufacturers and retailers to provide consumers with information about replacement car tires. The tire industry opposed several aspects of the rule, but had been working with the government to refine it. The Trump administration withdrew the proposed rule from consideration, but has not confirmed whether it may be reinstated.

18. Voted to revoke limits on **methane emissions on**

20. Delayed a rule aiming to increase **safety at facilities that use hazardous chemicals**. March 13

Chemical, agricultural and power industry groups said that the new rule, a response to a 2013 explosion at a fertilizer plant that killed 15 people, did not increase safety and would have undermined oversight. The rule is delayed until June 19, and industry groups have said that they may sue.

21. Delayed rules increasing **energy efficiency standards** for some appliances and some federal buildings. March 15

Republicans in Congress opposed the rules, which applied to ceiling fans, heating and cooling appliances and other devices, as well as residential buildings owned by the federal government, saying that they would place an unfair cost on consumers.

22. Delayed rules **moderniz-**

over by such countries, cutting its share of the war on coal. Congress passed a bill revoking the rule, which Mr. Trump signed into law.

3. Canceled a requirement for **reporting methane emissions**. March 2

Republican officials from 11 states wrote a letter to Scott Pruitt, the administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency, saying the rule added costs and paperwork for oil and gas companies. The next day, Mr. Pruitt revoked the rule.

4. Approved the **Keystone XL pipeline**. March 24

Republicans, along with oil, gas and steel industry groups, opposed Mr. Obama's decision to block the pipeline, arguing that the project would create jobs and support North American energy independence. After the pipeline company reapplied for a permit, the Trump administration approved it.

5. Revoked an update to the **public land use planning process**. March 27

Republicans and fossil fuel industry

CBOE. March 29

The company that sells the insecticide, Dow Agrosciences, strongly opposed a risk analysis by the Obama-era E.P.A., which found that the insecticide Chlorpyrifos poses a risk to fetal brain and nervous system development. Mr. Pruitt rejected the E.P.A.'s previous analysis and denied the ban, saying that the chemical needed further study.

8. Overturned a ban on the **hunting of predators** in Alaskan wildlife refuges.

April 3

Alaskan politicians opposed the law, which prevented hunters from shooting wolves and grizzly bears on wildlife refuges, arguing that the state, not the federal government, has authority over those lands. Congress passed a bill revoking the rule, which Mr. Trump signed into law.

9. Withdrew guidance for federal agencies to include **greenhouse gas emissions** in environmental reviews.

April 5

Republicans in Congress opposed the guidelines, which advised federal

arguing that it created regulatory burdens. Mr. Trump called it a "massive power grab" by the federal government and instructed the E.P.A. and the Army to conduct a review.

11. Reopened a review of **fuel-efficiency standards** for cars and trucks. March 15

Automakers said it would be difficult and costly to meet fuel economy goals they had agreed upon with the Obama administration and noted rising consumer demand for sport utility vehicles and trucks. A standards review had been completed by the Obama administration before Mr. Trump took office, but the auto industry argued that it was rushed. The E.P.A. and Department of Transportation have reopened the review.

12. Ordered "immediate re-evaluation" of the **Clean Power Plan**. March 28

Coal companies and Republican officials in many states strongly opposed the plan, which set strict limits for carbon dioxide emissions from existing coal- and gas-fired power plants. Republicans argued that the plan — Mr. Obama's

compliance deadlines while it reconsiders the rule, which had been challenged in court.

14. Ordered review of rule limiting **methane emissions at new oil and gas drilling sites**. April 18

Lobbyists for the oil and gas industries petitioned Mr. Pruitt to reconsider the rule, which went into effect last August, limiting emissions of methane, smog-forming compounds and other toxic pollutants from new and modified oil and gas wells. They argued the rule was technologically infeasible.

15. Ordered review of **national monuments** created since 1996. April 26

Congressional Republicans said the Antiquities Act, which allows presidents to designate national monuments on federal land, had been abused by previous administrations. Mr. Obama used the law to set aside more than 4 million acres of land and several million square miles of ocean for protection.

16. Ordered review of **offshore drilling policies**

refine it. The Trump administration withdrew the proposed rule from consideration, but has not confirmed whether it may be reinstated.

18. Voted to revoke limits on **methane emissions on public lands**. Feb. 3

The oil and gas industry said that the rule, which required companies to control methane emissions on federal or tribal land by capturing rather than burning or venting excess gas, would have curbed energy development. The House voted to revoke the rule under the Congressional Review Act, and Senate Republicans have until May 8 to take action.

19. Postponed changes to how **oil, gas and coal from federal lands are priced**.

Feb. 22

Lobbyists for the fossil fuel industry said the changes, meant to ensure fair pricing on oil, gas and coal on federal or tribal land and to reduce costs, were redundant since the government already has the power to impose penalties. They also argued that it created a lot of uncertainty in the market.

and other devices, as well as residential buildings owned by the federal government, saying that they would place an unfair cost on consumers.

22. Delayed rules **modernizing the federal highway system**, including environmental standards. March 15

The trucking industry supported the changes for bridge and pavement condition guidelines, but strongly opposed measures aimed at environmental sustainability and mitigating climate change.

23. Delayed a lawsuit over a rule regulating **airborne mercury emissions** from power plants. April 27

Coal companies, along with Republican officials in several states, sued the government over this rule, which regulated the amount of mercury and other toxic pollutants that fossil-fuel-fired power plants can emit into the air. They argued that the rule helped shutter coal plants, many of which are already compliant. Oral arguments in the case have been delayed while the E.P.A. reviews the rule.

Source: Federal Register; Environmental Protection Agency; White House; Columbia Law School's Climate Deregulation Tracker

THE NEW YORK TIMES

Debate on Pulling Back From Paris Climate Deal Could Turn on a Single Phrase

By JOHN SCHWARTZ

WASHINGTON — The debate within the Trump administration over what to do about the Paris climate agreement has reached a critical phase, according to people familiar with the internal negotiations. The decision could hinge on the interpretation of a single phrase in a single provision of a document that took years to write.

The question is whether to walk away from the agreement sealed by the Obama administration and nearly 200 other nations at the end of 2015 — as Donald J. Trump promised as a presidential candidate to do — or to weaken the nation's commitment under the deal to reducing greenhouse gases while remaining in the accord.

The provision at issue, Article 4.11, states that a nation “may at any time adjust its existing nationally determined contribution with a view to enhancing its level of ambition.” The question is whether the ability to “adjust” is like a ratchet, allowing progress only in one direction — upward — or if it permits a country to weaken its commitment without violating the terms of the deal.

The fight within the White House over what to do about the Paris deal has been going on for months. One side, led by the president's chief strategist, Stephen K. Bannon, and Scott Pruitt, the administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency, has argued that the language of the provision does not allow nations to weaken



Demonstrators near the Washington Monument during a climate march last week. The Trump administration is discussing whether to walk away from the Paris climate deal entirely or to remain in the accord but weaken the nation's commitment under the deal to reducing greenhouse gases.

ILLUSTRATION BY JILL SWIFT FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

dent's chief strategist, Stephen K. Bannon, and Scott Pruitt, the administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency, has argued that the language of the provision does not allow nations to weaken their commitments. They urge the president to withdraw entirely from the Paris deal.

Another faction, which includes the president's daughter Ivanka Trump and Secretary of State Rex W. Tillerson and colleagues, believes that the agreement does allow downward adjustments to nations' goals and targets, and that the administration should modify the commitment, not walk away.

Secretary of Energy Rick Perry, too, has called for the administration to "renegotiate" the climate pact without withdrawing from it.

If Mr. Bannon's side of the debate wins the contest for Mr. Trump's approval, the announcement of a decision to withdraw from the climate deal could come as early as next week.

The two sides clashed over the issue in a meeting on Thursday, when the White House Counsel's

Office surprised Ms. Trump by suggesting that Mr. Pruitt's faction might have the law on its side, Politico reported. The conflict led to an unusual meeting on Monday involving lawyers from several government agencies, reportedly including the White House, the Justice Department and the State Department.

Among the hard-line opponents of action against climate change both inside and outside the White House, the strong resistance to the notion that the Paris agreement includes downward flexibility is accompanied by warnings that efforts to relax commitments will lead to burdensome lawsuits from activists.

Christopher C. Horner, a senior legal fellow at the Energy and Environment Legal Institute, said liberal state attorneys general and climate activists would inevitably

sue over efforts to weaken the targets. "This will be most aggressive in the Ninth Circuit, which hopefully triggers some memories in the minds of administration lawyers," he said, referring to the fight over the administration's immigration plan, which has been stayed by the California-based federal appeals court.

"Despite the mad rush to insist that plain language means either the opposite of what it says, or else nothing at all, under any canon of construction, Article 4 does not permit revisions downward," Mr. Horner said. "The language is deliberate and reads only one way: the way it was written and, as the context affirms, was plainly intended."

The officials aligned with Ms. Trump and Mr. Tillerson, however, have suggested privately that the legal theory of a strictly binding

agreement is little more than a ploy to force the administration to pull out of the deal.

Todd D. Stern, the lead climate negotiator in the Obama administration and an expert on the deal, said negotiators wrote the flexibility to reduce targets into the agreement by careful design. "It wasn't like, 'Boy, nobody thought of that,'" he said.

The issue was discussed intensely in Paris, he explained. "There were countries that wanted to say, 'Thou shalt not, you are precluded from adjusting now.' We did not want to do that," he said. Downward adjustment had already occurred with climate commitments. Japan, after losing nuclear power facilities in the Fukushima disaster, had to adjust its targets downward.

The United States had feared that without the ability to adjust

targets, countries would lowball their commitments, Mr. Stern said.

He said leaving the Paris agreement would be a "serious mistake" that would have grave consequences: "I think it would produce broad collateral damage for the U.S. internationally."

The question of whether the administration will leave the climate agreement has drawn broad opposition from the nation's trading partners and businesses, and even from fossil fuel companies.

In a recent letter to administration officials, Exxon Mobil called the agreement "an effective framework for addressing the risks of climate change." At the coal company Cloud Peak Energy, a spokesman, Rick Curtsinger, said, "We do believe that it needs to be amended, but think that it's important to stay at the negotiating

table."

Colin Marshall, the company's chief executive, sent a letter to Mr. Trump on April 6 urging him to remain in the Paris agreement, "albeit with a much different pledge on emissions," and to promote technologies that can reduce the greenhouse gases produced by the use of coal.

Other nations have urged the United States to remain at the Paris table, including Britain, Canada and Australia, where Prime Minister Malcolm Turnbull has said his country will stay in the deal even if the United States withdraws.

Maros Sefcovic, a vice president of the European Commission, has urged American officials to stick with the agreement, but has also said that if not, "we are ready to continue to provide the leadership on climate change."

Climate Editors Have a Meltdown



BUSINESS WORLD

By Holman W.
Jenkins, Jr.

Times home page referring to the new EPA chief Scott Pruitt alternately as a “denier” or “skeptic.” At least it would have been fascinating for 20 minutes.

Ditto the hysterical discussions undoubtedly now arising from an anodyne piece of climate heterodoxy by the paper’s newest columnist, a former Journal colleague who shall remain nameless, in which he advises, somewhat obscurely, less “certainty” about “data.”

Whether or not this represents progress in how the U.S. media cover the climate debate, a trip down memory lane seems called for. In the 1980s, when climate alarms were first being widely sounded, reporters understood the speculative basis of computer models. We all said to ourselves: Well, in 30 years we’ll certainly have the data to know for sure which model forecasts are valid.

Thirty years later, the data haven’t answered the question. The 2014 report of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change, voice of climate orthodoxy, is cited for its claim, with 95% confidence,

that humans are responsible for at least half the warming between 1951 and 2010.

Look closely. This is an estimate of the reliability of an estimate. It lacks the most important conjunction in science: “because”—as in “We believe X because of Y.”

Not that the IPCC fails to offer a “because” in footnotes. It turns out this estimate is largely an estimate of how much man-made warming *should have taken place* if the models used to forecast future warming are broadly correct.

The IPCC has a bad reputation among conservatives for some of its press-release activities, but the reports themselves are basically numbing testimonies to how seriously scientists take their work. “If our models are reliable, then X is true” is a perfectly valid scientific statement. Only leaving out the prefix, as the media routinely does, makes it deceptive.

We don’t know what the IPCC’s next assessment report, due in 2021, will say on this vital point, known as climate sensitivity. But in 2013 it widened the range of uncertainty, and in the direction of less warming. Its current estimate is now identical to that of the 1979 Charney Report. On the key question, then, there has been no progress in 38 years.

For journalists, the climate beat has been singularly unrewarding. It has consisted of waiting for an answer that doesn’t come. By now, thanks to retirements and the mortality tables, the beat’s originators

are mostly gone. The job has passed into hands of reporters who don’t even bother to feign interest in science—who think the magic word “consensus” is all the support they need for any climate claim they care to make.

How did science reporting get so detached from the underlying science?

Take Inside Climate News, an online publication, lately accruing degraded journalism prizes, whose title echoes a successful series of specialist newsletters like Inside EPA and Inside the Pentagon that charge fancy prices for detailed, crunchy, reliable information about the U.S. government.

Inside Climate News might sound like it’s doing the same but it isn’t. Search its website and the term “climate sensitivity,” the central preoccupation of climate science, appears zero times. Any reporter who is truly curious about what scientists know and how they know it would not be working there. Asking such questions would only get him or her suspected of denialism.

But not even the EPA’s Mr. Pruitt or the New York Times’s newest recruit exhibits the ill grace to phrase the “so what” question.

“So what” is the most important question of all. So what

if human activity is causing some measure of climate change if voters and politicians are unwilling to assume the costs (possibly hugely disproportionate to any benefit) of altering the outcome of the normal evolution of energy markets and energy technology.

Even liberals have noticed that climate advocacy has morphed into a religion, unwilling to deal honestly with uncertainty or questions of cost and benefit. Climate apoplexy, like many single-issue obsessions, is now a form of entertainment for exercised minorities, allowing them to vent personal qualities that in most contexts they would be required to suppress.

Whether apocryphal or even a joke, who did not delight in the story of “Zach,” the young Democratic staffer who supposedly stormed out of a postelection meeting after cursing the party’s incompetent elders because, thanks to Hillary Clinton’s defeat, “I’m going to die from climate change.”

For the record, Zach, an estimate recently touted by the Washington Post precisely because it was five or 10 times worse than previous estimates had this to say about the consequences of climate change. If unaddressed, they would reduce economic growth by one-fifth over the next 85 years.

In other words, under the worst scenario, Zach’s grandchildren’s world would be only nine times richer than ours today.

Message

From: McGonagle, Kevin [mcgonagle.kevin@epa.gov]
Sent: 5/4/2017 1:42:14 PM
To: Press [Press@epa.gov]
Subject: Newspaper clips 5/4/17 - attached
Attachments: WaPo_5-4-17_Clippling_OpEd.pdf

There is one newspaper clip for today.

Washington Post – 1

Kevin McGonagle
Office of Media Relations Intern
U.S. Environmental Protection Agency
Telephone: (202)-564-4524
mcgonagle.kevin@epa.gov

What the Paris agreement means

Staying in the international climate accord is cost-free. Pulling out would not be.

PRESIDENT TRUMP is getting closer to exiting the Paris climate agreement. According to reports emanating from the White House, the president's top lawyer shifted the internal debate last week. More meetings are to come. Yet the choice ought to be an easy one: Staying in the Paris accord is cost-free, but pulling out is not.

Paris exiters argue that the United States cannot remain in and revise downward the international commitment President Barack Obama made to cut U.S. emissions by 26 to 28 percent by 2025 — a pledge that, no matter how important for the planet, Mr. Trump does not want to keep. The White House counsel's office reportedly lent its voice to this argument in a meeting last Thursday.

This is nonsense. World negotiators considered making the agreement's climate commitment language stronger, preventing countries from backtracking on their pledges. They purposely declined to do so. The envoys who hammered out the agreement insist that they wanted to keep nations' options open, in part because countries would

otherwise lowball their international emissions commitments in fear of never being able to reduce their stated goals.

Arguments claiming otherwise reflect a grave — or purposeful — misunderstanding of the nature of the Paris agreement. At its core, it is a political pact among sovereign nations based on nonbinding “nationally determined contributions.” It does not and was never meant to formally bind countries to specific emissions commitments; instead it is intended to encourage voluntary cooperation and government-to-government pressure.

Moreover, the parties, not least the United States, get to decide what its terms mean. If the Trump administration is worried that a line in the agreement could be interpreted as improperly binding the U.S. government, U.S. officials can shape how countries understand the agreement's language.

Or the president could simply ignore it. Nothing in the Paris agreement could stop him from keeping the United States in the system and Mr. Obama's pledge on the books, and then simply declining to

meet the pledge. It is fanciful to imagine that U.S. courts would interpret Paris, an agreement with almost no legal requirements, otherwise. Even this path would be better than pulling out entirely. Staying in keeps the Trump administration at the international table as potentially significant decisions are made on technology and decarbonization. Even some major coal interests have asked the president to remain in so that his administration can advocate coal-friendly carbon capture and sequestration technology.

Meanwhile, the president must not underestimate the cost of pulling out. Only two countries — Syria and Nicaragua — have declined to join the Paris agreement. Climate diplomacy has become a cornerstone of international engagement. By leaving Paris, the United States would surrender a huge amount of diplomatic capital and reputation — much more than it is already set to lose by unwisely reversing Obama-era emissions-cutting policies. Mr. Trump would hear about it for the rest of his presidency. And for good reason.

Washington Post | Op-Ed | p. A16

Message

From: McGonagle, Kevin [mcgonagle.kevin@epa.gov]
Sent: 5/9/2017 2:12:05 PM
To: Press [Press@epa.gov]
Subject: Newspaper clips 5/9/17 - attached
Attachments: WaPo_5-9-17_Clippling_scienceboard.pdf; WaPo_5-9-17_Clippling_Bonn.pdf; NYT_5-9-17_Clippling_OpEd.pdf; WSJ_5-9-17_Clippling_climate.pdf

There are 4 clips for today.

New York Times – 1
Wall Street Journal – 1
Washington Post – 2

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EPA, Interior overhaul key scientific advisory boards

BY JULIET EILPERIN
AND BRADY DENNIS

Both the Environmental Protection Agency and the Interior Department are overhauling a slew of outside advisory boards that inform how their agencies assess the science underpinning federal policies, the first step in a broader effort by Republicans to change the way the federal government evaluates the scientific basis for its regulations.

EPA Administrator Scott Pruitt decided to replace half of the members on one of its key scientific review boards, while Interior Secretary Ryan Zinke is "reviewing the charter and charge" of more than 200 advisory boards, committees and other entities both within and outside his department. EPA and Interior officials began informing current members of the move Friday, and notifications continued over the weekend.

Pruitt's move could significantly change the makeup of the 18-member Board of Scientific Counselors, which advises EPA's prime scientific arm on whether the research it does has sufficient rigor and integrity, and addresses important scientific questions. All of the people being dismissed were at the end of serving at least one three-year term, although these terms are often renewed instead of terminated.

EPA spokesman J.P. Freire said in an email that "no one has been fired or terminated" and that Pruitt had simply decided to bring in fresh advisers. The agency informed the outside academics Friday that their terms would not be renewed.

"We're not going to rubber-stamp the last administration's appointees. Instead, they should participate in the same open competitive process as the rest of the applicant pool," Freire said. "This approach is what was always intended for the board, and

we're making a clean break with the last administration's approach."

Separately, Zinke has postponed all outside committees as he reviews their composition and work. The review will effectively freeze the work of the Bureau of Land Management's 38 resource advisory councils, along with other panels focused on a sweep of issues, from one assessing the threat of invasive species to the science technical advisory panel for Alaska's North Slope.

"The Secretary is committed to restoring trust in the Department's decision-making and that begins with institutionalizing state and local input and ongoing collaboration, particularly in

*"We're not going to
rubber-stamp the last
administration's
appointees."*

J.P. Freire, EPA spokesman

communities surrounding public lands," Interior spokeswoman Heather Swift said by email Monday. "As the Department concludes its review in the weeks ahead, agencies will notice future meetings to ensure that the Department continues to get the benefit of the views of local communities in all decision-making on public land management."

Greg Zimmerman, deputy director of the nonpartisan advocacy group Center for Western Priorities, said in an interview that "it just doesn't make any sense they would be canceling meetings as they do this analysis." The BLM's regional advisory councils include officials from the energy and outdoor recreation industry as well as scientists and conservationists, Zimmer-

man added. "The only reasonable explanation is they don't want to be hearing from these folks."

The moves came as a surprise to the agencies' outside advisers, with several of them taking to Twitter to announce their suspensions.

John Peter Thompson, who chairs Interior's Invasive Species Advisory Panel, tweeted Monday that he had been notified that "all activities are suspended subject to review by Department of Interior."

Members of EPA's Board of Scientific Counselors had been informed twice — in January, before President Barack Obama left office, and then more recently by EPA career staff members — that they would be kept on for another term, adding to their confusion.

"I was kind of shocked to receive this news," Robert Richardson, an ecological economist and an associate professor in Michigan State University's Department of Community Sustainability, said in an interview Sunday.

Conservatives have complained for years about EPA's approach to science, including the input it receives from outside scientific bodies. Both the Board of Scientific Counselors and the 47-member Scientific Advisory Board have come under criticism for bolstering the cause for greater federal regulation.

Pruitt is planning a much broader overhaul of how the agency conducts its scientific analysis, said a senior administration official who spoke on the condition of anonymity to discuss internal deliberations.

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brady.dennis@washpost.com*

Chris Mooney contributed to this report.

More at washingtonpost.com/news/energy-environment

New U.S. view of climate accord apparent in Bonn delegation

BY CHRIS MOONEY

The U.S. government has sent just seven registered participants to a key United Nations meeting on the Paris climate agreement — a smaller delegation than Zimbabwe's — underscoring the Trump administration's deep ambivalence about the accord.

White House officials are expected to huddle Tuesday to discuss the fate of the agreement — with business leaders and the international community pressing the United States to stay and Trump's conservative allies urging an exit.

China, France, and Germany each sent dozens of officials to the

meeting in Bonn, Germany — the French delegation alone had 42 official participants. Last year, the United States sent 44 official participants.

Another international climate meeting is set for Thursday in Alaska, where the biennial ministerial gathering of the eight-nation Arctic Council will be held in Fairbanks. The event is certain to highlight rapid changes to the fastest-warming part of Earth.

In recent days, White House officials have taken an apparent turn against remaining in the Paris climate agreement. Administration officials say the accord binds the Trump administration to the ambitious greenhouse-gas reduction goals of the Obama era.

That interpretation is contested by many legal experts as well as participants in past international climate negotiations.

Foreign allies and many corporations say Washington should stick with the deal, while U.S. conservatives are pushing for withdrawal.

"We strongly hope that the U.S. will stay committed to the Paris accord," said Francois Delattre, the French ambassador to the United Nations.

Delattre said he "underscored this point" in a White House lunch with President Trump late last month.

The Paris climate agreement sets forth the voluntary carbon-cutting pledges of more than 190 countries. The parties to the accord are expected to increase their ambitions over time, with the goal of setting the world on a course to limit global warming to "well below" a 2-degrees Celsius (3.6 degrees Fahrenheit)

rise over temperatures seen in the late 1800s.

The Obama administration pledged to reduce U.S. greenhouse-gas emissions by 26 to 28 percent below their 2005 levels by the year 2025 — less than 10 years from now. Yet even that ambitious pledge, combined with those of other nations, is not enough to keep the world within the 2-degree temperature limit.

The divide within the White House is between those, like Secretary of State Rex Tillerson and Energy Secretary Rick Perry, who would have the United States revise its commitment downward, and those like EPA Administrator Scott Pruitt who believe that remaining in the deal at all opens up the Trump administration to legal challenges to its domestic energy policies.

On Monday, 40 conservative organizations sent Trump a letter "in enthusiastic support of your campaign commitments to withdraw fully from the Paris Climate Treaty and to stop all taxpayer funding of UN global warming programs."

Meanwhile, Google, Apple and more than 20 other firms took out an ad in the New York Times on Monday backing the agreement.

"By expanding markets for innovative clean technologies, the agreement generates jobs and economic growth," the companies' letter says. "U.S. companies are well positioned to lead in these markets. Withdrawing from the agreement will limit our access to them and could expose us to retaliatory measures."

It is unclear how other nations would react if the United States

were to withdraw from the deal, but "retaliatory measures" have been mentioned in the past.

Former French president Nicolas Sarkozy suggested "a carbon tax at Europe's borders, a tax of one to three percent for all the products that come from the United States, if the United States exempts itself from the environmental regulations that we ourselves have imposed on our businesses."

The United States, as the world's second-largest emitter, is central to the Paris accord.

According to an analysis by the think tank Climate Interactive, the agreement pledges would shift the world from a path in which global emissions are expected to rise significantly by 2030 (as economies grow and populations boom), onto one in which emissions remain relatively flat over the next 13 years. That's not enough to hit the 2-degree goal, but it is enough to keep global warming somewhat under control.

However, the group found, 21 percent of the emissions cuts depend on the United States. If it doesn't meet its commitment, global emissions will keep growing.

"The United States is contributing 21 percent of the pledged global reductions in greenhouse-gas emissions," said Ellie Johnston, who leads climate and energy efforts at Climate Interactive. "If the United States doesn't follow through on its commitment, it will shift more of the burden of climate action to those countries who have polluted the least. It's unfair by any measure."

chris.mooney@washpost.com

Washington Post
National
p. A14

Paris Deal Benefits Business

George P. Shultz
and Ted Halstead

PRESIDENT TRUMP faces a choice that will echo across his presidency and beyond: whether to remain in the Paris climate agreement. Although most Americans, his own secretaries of state and energy, and heads of state from around the globe are urging the president to stay, he remains undecided. Let us hope that a newly invigorated pro-Paris campaign by many of America's top C.E.O.s will sway him.

In a recent barrage of public letters and full-page ads, Fortune 100 companies are voicing strong support for remaining in the Paris accord. The breadth of this coalition is remarkable: industries from oil and gas to retail, mining, utilities, agriculture, chemicals, information and automotive. This is as close as big business gets to a consensus position.

American business leaders understand that remaining in the agreement would spur new investment, strengthen American competitiveness, create jobs, ensure American access to global markets and help reduce future business risks

**It would create jobs and
improve competitiveness.**

associated with the changing climate. Leaving Paris would yield the opposite.

Our companies are best served by a stable and predictable international framework that commits all nations to climate-change mitigation. The Paris agreement overcame one of the longest-standing hurdles to international climate negotiations: getting the developing world, including China and India, onboard. If America backs away now, decades of diplomatic progress could be jeopardized.

Global statecraft relies on trust, reputation and credibility, which can be all too easily squandered. The United States is far better off maintaining a seat at the head of the table rather than standing outside. If America fails to honor a global agreement that it helped forge, the repercussions will undercut our diplomatic priorities across the globe, not to mention the country's global standing and the market access of our firms.

Staying in Paris in no way binds the president to Obama-era climate regulations. Indeed, the only risk Mr. Trump faces from altering or weakening domestic climate policy under Paris is in the court of public opinion, not in federal courts. Seventy-one percent of Americans favor remaining in the Paris agreement, according to a survey by the Chicago Council on Global Affairs, and an even larger number favor clean energy.

What's more, there's nothing in the

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courts. Seventy-one percent of Americans favor remaining in the Paris agreement, according to a survey by the Chicago Council on Global Affairs, and an even larger number favor clean energy.

What's more, there's nothing in the Paris agreement to prevent the administration from adopting more cost-effective, market-based and business-friendly climate policies. For all their good intent, the Obama administration's climate regulations — most prominently the Clean Power Plan to reduce carbon dioxide emissions from power plants — saddle industry with cumbersome requirements, inhibit business investment and have proved highly divisive. President Trump's recent executive order to withdraw or rewrite these regulations is but the beginning of a multiyear legal battle that leaves American industry facing significant regulatory and pricing uncertainty, the worst of all worlds.

The only quick and sure path to undo these regulations is through legislation. This offers the president a potent negotiating strategy: Propose a meaningful price on carbon in exchange for a rollback of Obama-era climate rules. This could pave the way for a bipartisan climate solution, and a major victory for Mr. Trump. For example, a revenue-neutral carbon tax starting at \$40 per ton would meet the high end of America's commitment under Paris, justifying the elimination of all previous carbon regulations, as we and our co-authors argued in a recent study, "The Conservative Case for Carbon Dividends."

The president's Paris verdict will ultimately be about more than climate. It also carries major implications for America's place in the geoeconomic order. Staying in Paris would advance the president's priorities not only by creating jobs, but also by leveling the playing field in trade. American companies are well positioned to benefit from growing global markets in clean technologies, generating domestic jobs and growth.

By contrast, pulling out of the agreement could subject the United States to retaliatory trade measures, enabling other countries to leapfrog American industry.

If the president wants to strengthen America's competitive position, he should combine a price on carbon with border tariffs or rebates based on carbon content. United States exports to countries without comparable carbon pricing systems would receive rebates, while imports from such countries would face tariffs on the carbon content of their products. Not only would this encourage other nations to adopt comparable carbon pricing, but it also would end today's implicit subsidy for dirty producers overseas, which puts American businesses at a disadvantage.

Businesses supporting the Paris accord are the president's natural allies. They can help him fashion a conservative climate solution that upholds our commitments and enhances America's greatness. □

New York Times Op-Ed p. A23

GEORGE R. SHULTZ served as secretary of state under Ronald Reagan and as secretary of the Treasury under Richard Nixon. TED HALSTEAD is the president of the Climate Leadership Council.

Trump Considers Steps to Take On Climate Change

By Eli Stokols

President Donald Trump has told top aides he wants to decide the U.S. role in the Paris Agreement on climate change, and what course to take will be debated in two high-level meetings at the White House on Tuesday, according to multiple administration officials.

Two weeks after his electoral victory last November, Mr. Trump said he had “an open mind” about the agreement by 190 countries aimed at combating climate change, reversing his campaign pledge to withdraw completely. But after softening other campaign positions on China and NATO in recent weeks, the president may be looking to rebalance his approach on the world stage with a major move reaffirming his commitment to “America First” principles.

The faction for withdrawing completely is led by EPA Administrator Scott Pruitt, senior adviser Steve Bannon and White House counsel Don McGahn, several officials said. They are eager for the decision ahead of the G-7 and G-20 summits later this month in Italy and Germany, respectively, where world leaders are likely to pressure Mr. Trump to stay in the agreement.

France’s president-elect, Emmanuel Macron, urged Mr. Trump not to dismantle the Paris agreement during a congratulatory phone call Monday, his spokesman told CNN.

But others inside and close to the administration are urging more tempered steps, such as paring the U.S. carbon emission reduction targets.

In a recent Oval Office meeting, Condoleezza Rice, former Secretary of State in the Bush administration, also

implored the president to avoid the diplomatic backlash that could result from fully withdrawing, according to two White House officials.

Secretary of State Rex Tillerson, Secretary of Energy Rick Perry and the president’s daughter Ivanka Trump are all pushing for a more measured response.

Mr. Pruitt and Ms. Trump are scheduled to meet at the

White House on Tuesday to discuss the agreement ahead of a second meeting of the principals committee of the National Security Council that afternoon at which a formal recommendation may be presented.

Environmental groups, alarmed for weeks over the rising possibility that the administration may withdraw, have been preparing a re-

sponse should that occur and simultaneously attempting to undercut the White House’s legal rationale for pulling out.

Mr. McGahn has argued that remaining in the Paris Agreement could lead to litigation should the administration ratchet down its carbon emission reduction limits, according to administration officials. Mr. McGahn declined a request for comment.



The Jim Bridger power plant, which is outside Rock Springs, Wyo., is powered by coal.

Message

From: Bennett, Tate [Bennett.Tate@epa.gov]
Sent: 5/18/2017 2:04:10 PM
To: Gunasekara, Mandy [Gunasekara.Mandy@epa.gov]
CC: Bowman, Liz [Bowman.Liz@epa.gov]; Lyons, Troy [Lyons.troy@epa.gov]; Freire, JP [Freire.JP@epa.gov]
Subject: Re: H. Sterling Burnett in the Detroit News: Escaping the Paris Climate Agreement

Thanks!

On May 18, 2017, at 9:59 AM, Gunasekara, Mandy <Gunasekara.Mandy@epa.gov> wrote:

For the list

Sent from my iPhone

Begin forwarded message:

From: "Hale, Michelle" <hale.michelle@epa.gov>
Date: May 18, 2017 at 9:56:38 AM EDT
To: "Jackson, Ryan" <jackson.ryan@epa.gov>, "Gunasekara, Mandy" <Gunasekara.Mandy@epa.gov>
Subject: FW: H. Sterling Burnett in the Detroit News: Escaping the Paris Climate Agreement

fyi

From: Joseph Bast [mailto:JBast@heartland.org]
Sent: Thursday, May 18, 2017 9:34 AM
Subject: H. Sterling Burnett in the Detroit News: Escaping the Paris Climate Agreement

FYI.

<http://www.detroitnews.com/story/opinion/2017/05/18/paris-climate/101815198/>

Billy Aouste
Media Specialist
The Heartland Institute
3939 North Wilke Road
Arlington Heights, IL 60004

Detroit News
5/18/17

Escaping the Paris Climate Agreement

By: H. Sterling Burnett, the Heartland Institute

As a candidate for president, Donald Trump said he would withdraw the United States from the Paris climate agreement and called it a bad deal for America. In an April speech in Harrisburg, Penn., Trump reiterated this claim, saying the Paris climate agreement in its current form hurts America. Despite his continued opposition, however, it remains unclear whether a withdrawal is in the nation's future.

It's time for this administration to keep its promise, by getting the U.S. out of this flawed, costly agreement.

Some in Trump's team have reportedly said if the United States' commitments are restructured there might be a path to stay in the Paris climate agreement. While there may be a better deal to be had — after all, the Obama administration could hardly have negotiated a worse deal for Americans — there is no deal that would be good for the country. Even Trump can't put lipstick on this very ugly pig.

While our economic competitors, such as China and India, do not have to limit their fossil-fuel use under the agreement, the U.S. is required to make steep cuts, which are estimated to cost our economy trillions of dollars over the life of the agreement without providing any appreciable environmental benefits. Additionally, a deal isn't possible without the U.S. paying into the political slush fund called the Green Climate Fund, which Trump promised to halt payments to. What is gained by staying in? Nothing.

The question is not whether Trump should keep his word and withdraw from the Paris agreement; it's simply a matter of choosing the best way to do so. There are three options.

The first way to cancel America's participation in the Paris climate agreement — and the one that most directly satisfies Trump's campaign commitment — is simply to withdraw the United States' signature entirely. Under the Paris agreement, any country can withdraw from the agreement by giving written notice of a decision to do so to the U.N. secretary general. Unfortunately, under the terms of the agreement, Trump can't give such notice until the agreement has been in place for three years, which means the earliest withdrawal date is Oct. 5, 2019.

Making matters worse, the withdrawal does not become effective until one year after the written notice is delivered. This means even if Trump determines to withdraw from the Paris agreement today, the country will remain stuck with its terms for a minimum of almost four years, and while America remains a party to the agreement, it is obligated to keep its commitments. Because the four-year withdrawal period will not run out until after Trump's first term is over, should he decide not to run for president again or should he run for re-election and lose, the next president could simply recommit the United States to the agreement with a simple signature.

The second way to scotch America's commitments under the Paris climate agreement would be for Trump to submit it to the Senate for formal approval as a treaty. This is what Obama should have done in the first place. To become a binding treaty, the Senate would have to approve the Paris climate agreement by a two-thirds vote. If the agreement loses the treaty vote — and it likely would in a full vote of the Senate — the deal is canceled.

However, nothing requires the Senate to hold an up-or-down vote on the Paris climate agreement if Trump submits it to them. Using the Senate filibuster rules, Senate Democrats could block the treaty from ever coming up for a vote. Such a move is likely, since the vast majority of Democrats support the Paris agreement. Under this scenario, the treaty would remain pending, leaving a future Senate to decide its fate.

The easiest way for Trump to end U.S. participation in Paris and all international climate agreements would be for him to remove the country's signature from the U.N.

Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC), signed by President George H.W. Bush in 1992. Article 25 of the UNFCCC allows any state party to the convention to withdraw, without further obligation, upon giving one year's notice. Withdrawing from UNFCCC would cancel the United States' obligations to all other United Nations-brokered climate agreements made subsequent to UNFCCC, because they are all built on it.

This would be the best and easiest way to get out of the Paris climate agreement, and it would help to prevent future burdensome climate agreements.

Mr. President, whichever path you choose, please keep your promise and withdraw the United States from the Paris agreement, placing it firmly in the dustbin of history — where it belongs.

H. Sterling Burnett, Ph.D., is a research fellow on energy and the environment at the Heartland Institute.

Message

From: Graham, Amy [/O=EXCHANGELABS/OU=EXCHANGE ADMINISTRATIVE GROUP (FYDIBOHF23SPDLT)/CN=RECIPIENTS/CN=26722DFDE5B34925B0AD9A8DD4AFF308-GRAHAM, AMY]
Sent: 6/1/2017 11:07:41 PM
To: Konkus, John [konkus.john@epa.gov]
Subject: Supportive Statements

Paris Pull-Out Reax

Jenny Beth Martin, President/Co-Founder of Tea Party Patriots

"Tea Party Patriots thanks President Donald Trump for continuing to keep the promises he made during the campaign by announcing the United States will withdraw from the Paris Accord, which is a drag on our economy and a bad deal for American workers. Once again, President Trump has continued to keep his word to the American people both on specific initiatives like the Paris Accord and his broader promise to put our citizens and America first. According to a study by NERA Consulting, the requirements in the Paris Accord agreed to by the Obama Administration could cost our economy almost \$3 trillion over the next several decades and have a catastrophic effect on American jobs. We could lose over 6 million industrial jobs, including more than 3 million manufacturing jobs, by 2040 if we insisted on sticking with the terrible deal negotiated by the Obama Administration and signed out of desperation. Thankfully, we have a President in Donald Trump who is dedicated to keeping his promises and putting American workers and America first and we will be much better off as a country thanks to this courageous decision by the president."

David Rivkin, Jr., Washington D.C. appellate and constitutional law attorney

"Paris Accords do not provide a viable solution to the climate change concerns and yet, inflict major damage on American economy. And because United States takes most seriously its international commitments, even when they are non binding, once we have decided that we aren't going to comply with Paris commitments, withdrawing from the Accords is the right thing to do."

James Burling, Vice President for Litigation at the Pacific Legal Foundation

"With the uncertainty surrounding the achievability of the Paris agreement's emission targets, the potential impacts on the domestic economy and jobs, and the related uncertainty as to whether achieving the Paris agreement's targets will actually have a meaningful impact on climate change, it is not surprising that the President chose to pull out of the accord. The President has the prerogative to conduct foreign and domestic affairs within the limits established by the Constitution. The Paris agreement was not a treaty approved by the two-thirds of the Senate and then ratified by former President Obama as required by the Constitution. By withdrawing from the agreement, the President has made a lawful policy choice based on his determination of what is the best interests of the nation."

Ken Blackwell, former domestic policy advisor to the Trump Presidential Transition team, served as State Treasurer and Secretary of State of Ohio and is a current Board Member of the National Taxpayers Union.

"The President's decision today is the fulfillment of another campaign promise to put America's interests first. The Paris climate agreement was a bad deal negotiated by the Obama administration, which would cost American jobs and economic growth, while requiring little of the countries who are causing the most pollution. Through free market innovation, the US is already making great strides in reducing emissions, while providing affordable energy to our citizens. The last thing we need is another meaningless international agreement where the US makes all the sacrifices and carrying the cost of other nations, with little actual impact on the climate."

David McIntosh, President of the Club For Growth

"Today, the Club for Growth applauds President Trump's forthcoming decision to begin the process of withdrawing the United States from the Paris climate agreement. For far too long the Obama Administration allowed foreign governments and alarmist environmentalists to dictate, not only climate change policy, but

worse our nation's economic policy. President Trump's decision sends a strong message to the environmentalist movement: no longer will the United States be strong armed by their scare tactics intended to harm our economy and inhibit economic growth. With this announcement, President Trump takes a significant step toward putting American taxpayers and businesses back in the driver's seat. We encourage the President to continue to take actions that will unleash economic growth and create more American jobs and opportunities."

John S. Baker, Jr., Professor Emeritus at Louisiana State University Law Center

"Given the dramatic climate change in American politics, President Trump's decision to drop out of the Paris accord should never have been in doubt. That the decision seemed uncertain only demonstrates the determination of internationalist opinion makers to undermine American political choices."

Jonathan Adler, Johan Verheij Memorial Professor of Law and Director of the Center for Business Law & Regulation at the Case Western Reserve University School of Law

"There is no reason for the United States to remain a party to an agreement with which the US has no intention of implementing. This agreement was never ratified by the Senate, nor would it be. It's high time policy makers moved beyond the fantasy that symbolic international agreements of this sort are a useful way to address our environmental challenges."

<http://www.teapartypatriots.org/news/tea-party-patriots-thank-president-trump-for-keeping-his-promise-paris-accord/>

<https://twitter.com/TPPatriots/status/870372195494764545>

<https://twitter.com/EELegal/status/870368574887669760>

<https://twitter.com/AEA/status/870347302371807232>

AFP's statement: <https://americansforprosperity.org/afp-applauds-president-trump-decision-withdraw-paris-climate-agreement/>

<https://twitter.com/AFPhq/status/870381440889966592>

American Energy Alliance statement:

<http://americanenergyalliance.org/2017/06/01/aea-commends-president-trump-keeping-promise-forgotten-man/>

Message

From: Danylak, Mike (EPW) [Mike_Danylak@epw.senate.gov]
Sent: 3/29/2017 1:42:21 PM
To: Danylak, Mike (EPW) [Mike_Danylak@epw.senate.gov]
Subject: Barrasso Op-Ed: Toward a Better Climate Sans Paris
Attachments: removed.txt

For Immediate Release:
March 29, 2017

Contact: Mike Danylak ~202.224.1049
Mike_Danylak@EPW.Senate.Gov

In Case You Missed It...

Barrasso Op-Ed: Toward a Better Climate Sans Paris

The U.N. pact would restrain U.S. innovation leading to cleaner energy

By: U.S. Senator John Barrasso, M.D.
March 29, 2017
[Washington Times](#)

It's time for the United States to pull out of the Paris climate agreement entirely.

On Tuesday, President Trump signed an executive order that promoted American energy security by rolling back several overreaching Obama-era regulations that are central to the Paris climate pact.

The president's order addressed some of the most economically damaging regulations behind the Paris accords.

The executive order's goals include reversing the so-called "Clean Power" rules that would shutter American power plants. It also rescinds the damaging moratorium on coal leasing. Additionally, it removes the requirement that federal officials consider climate change when making decisions.

All were put in place without congressional approval.

This executive order sent Washington's regulatory agencies back to the drawing board to help make American energy as clean as we can, as fast as we can, without raising costs on American families.

The order has taken the legs out from under the Paris climate agreement that President Obama signed in his last year in office.

The international climate deal was negotiated badly and signed out of desperation. In fact, there was enough bipartisan opposition to the pact that Mr. Obama bypassed sending it to the Senate for ratification as a treaty. The agreement rests on little more than the former president's handshake.

The Paris deal imposed on the United States unrealistic targets for reducing our carbon emissions. It set America's standards higher than for much of the world, while giving countries like China a free pass for years to come.

We all want a cleaner environment, but the Paris agreement, and the ill-conceived regulations that it spawned, disproportionately harm America's economy and put us at a competitive disadvantage.

According to National Economic Research Associates Economic Consulting, if the United States met all of its commitments as part of the Paris climate accord, it would cost the American economy \$3 trillion and 6.5 million industrial sector jobs by 2040.

This bad deal for America is based on the faulty premise that the United States is the primary culprit of a changing climate rather than a driver of innovative solutions.

America has already reduced its carbon-dioxide emissions dramatically. According to the Energy Information Administration, emissions have dropped 12 percent in the past decade.

The trend line is clear. We can reduce our emissions without the Paris accords.

The U.S. reduction in carbon emissions is not because of government regulations or international agreements. It is in large part because of new and innovative technologies from the private sector, including innovations in natural gas production.

While the climate deal punishes America's energy producers with expensive and burdensome regulations, it gives other countries much more generous limits and timelines.

The Paris agreement is a great deal for countries like China and India. They were understandably eager to take full advantage of the chance to get an economic leg up on the United States in terms of energy security. With an abundance of low-cost coal, these nations will put our manufacturers at a competitive disadvantage.

Similarly, with less American oil and natural gas production, OPEC countries and Russia would have greater leverage in global energy markets.

The Paris agreement also created a United Nations climate slush fund, largely underwritten by American taxpayers. In his final year in office, President Obama contributed \$500 million from the State Department to this fund on two separate occasions. He did it without authorization from Congress.

Other countries are now questioning their own financial commitments to the agreement. Finance ministers from multiple G20 countries are actively seeking to scale back their government's pledges to finance the deal.

This agreement is not the solution. According to researchers from MIT, even if every nation that signed on to the Paris pact met all of their commitments until the end of the century; the impact on the climate would be negligible.

Bottom line: the Paris climate agreement is a bad deal for America.

Pulling out of this agreement would help rev the engines of America's economy, which is necessary if we are going to develop the next generation of technologies to reduce our emissions even further.

It would also get rid of an unnecessary distraction for the State Department. America faces challenges around the world that are more pressing than the Paris accord.

We would be better off if our diplomats focused on security threats like those we face from North Korea, Russia and ISIS, instead of trying to justify remaining in a bad deal with which we do not intend to comply.

In November, President Trump and Republicans in Congress were given a mandate to put this country's needs first. Walking away from a bad Paris deal would be a good start.

John Barrasso, a Republican member of the U.S. Senate from Wyoming, is chairman of the Senate Committee on Environment and Public Works and a member of the Foreign Affairs Committee.

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<http://epw.senate.gov>

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From: Dewey, Amy [Dewey.Amy@epa.gov]
Sent: 5/30/2017 3:14:10 PM
To: Konkus, John [konkus.john@epa.gov]
Subject: Get out of Paris: Ted Cruz: at CNN, Cliff Forrest in WSJ

Don't miss this!

<https://amp.cnn.com/cnn/2017/05/29/opinions/withdraw-paris-accord-opinion-cruz/index.html>

Ted Cruz: Trump should withdraw from Paris climate pact

By Ted Cruz

Updated 9:22 AM EDT, Tue May 30, 2017

Editor's Note: (Ted Cruz represents Texas in the United States Senate. The views expressed in this commentary are his own.)

(CNN) Following a successful international tour and the G-7 Summit in Italy, President Trump has an opportunity to relieve our nation of the unfair and economically devastating requirements of the Paris Agreement, the United Nations climate treaty he pledged to rip up during the campaign.

And as soon as possible, President Trump should act on -- and keep -- his campaign promise.

The agreement, signed by the Obama administration last year, would commit the United States to drastically reducing its carbon emissions while allowing some countries to increase theirs. This, all while doing nothing to meaningfully decrease global temperatures.

According to a recent National Economic Research Associates Economic Consulting study, the Paris Agreement could obliterate \$3 trillion of GDP, 6.5 million industrial sector jobs and \$7,000 in per capita household income from the American economy by 2040. Meeting the 2025 emissions reduction target alone could subtract \$250 billion from our GDP and eliminate 2.7 million jobs. The cement, iron and steel, and petroleum refining industries could see their production cut by 21% 19%, and 11% respectively.

Not only would these unfair standards reduce American job growth and wages and increase monthly utility costs for hardworking families, they would fundamentally disadvantage the United States in the global economy. The result: our economic output would lag while other countries continued to expand their GDPs.

The agreement's proponents market it as a panacea for addressing the impacts of climate change, but at its core, it is about increasing government control -- over the economy, the energy sector and nearly every aspect of our daily lives. It represents the exact misguided, top-down, government-knows-best approach that American voters resoundingly rejected in 2016.

We cannot pursue a path that puts American workers first if we cripple a fossil fuel energy sector that generates 82% of the energy consumed in the United States. The coal industry alone supplies almost one-third of America's electric power -- with an increasing amount of clean coal-burning technology becoming available.

America is poised to become a net energy exporter over the next decade. We should not abandon that progress at the cost of weakening our energy renaissance and crippling economic growth.

And let's not forget the massive utility cost increases the agreement would entail. The Clean Power Plan, a major component of fulfilling the agreement, would spike energy costs for working and middle-class Texans by 16% by 2030, according to the Economic Reliability Council of Texas, the entity that operates the electric grid for much of our state.

We simply cannot afford an agreement that puts thousands of Americans out of work, increases their energy costs and devastates our core industries.

In return for crippling our economy, the Paris Agreement would do next to nothing to impact global temperatures. Under the EPA's own models, if all carbon emissions in America were basically eliminated, global temperatures would only decrease by less than two-tenths of a degree Celsius.

While the agreement would have a negligible impact on temperatures, America would be putting itself at a competitive disadvantage. That's because while the Obama administration irresponsibly committed America to immediate, real cuts in emissions, our global economic competitors would have no such handicap. In fact, Russia is permitted to increase its emissions approximately 50% and China and India have no meaningful cap on emissions until 2030.

This disparity among the countries' pledges inflicts real losses on our economy now while our rivals continue to grow, industrialize and diversify at their own pace with no implementation costs. In the meantime, the agreement would force American taxpayers to subsidize alternative energy at the expense of clean coal, nuclear power and natural gas -- energy resources that actually work for our economy and our environment.

The Paris Agreement would also handicap America in the global race for new sources of energy. Russia has committed financial and military assets to the Arctic to stake its claim to the region's vast deepwater mineral, oil and gas deposits. China is also exploring and trading for Arctic oil and gas. Meanwhile, American liquefied natural gas struggles with logistical costs that weaken its competitiveness.

By allowing our rivals to increase their cooperation and strategic leverage around the world -- pressuring our allies and partners, harming domestic job creators and materially reducing our prestige and influence in the process --- the agreement would damage America's national security as much as our economic security. The emission cuts that the US would have to make today, and the resultant costs for our own energy firms, would weaken our ability to battle our rivals on an equal footing in the drive for untapped energy sources.

Efforts to unwind some of the deal's more onerous regulations are welcomed, but that is not enough. Unless the US completely withdraws, the Paris Agreement will continue to cause sustained harm to our security and economy, and it keeps the door open for future administrations to use it as means to impose more costly and ineffective energy regulations.

We should not let a deal subject to the whims of future administrations or Congresses hang like a wet blanket over our economy -- driving up energy prices, devastating our industrial base and bolstering our rivals.

I hope President Trump will take the opportunity before him to fulfill the commitment he made and withdraw America from the Paris Agreement.

The ‘Business Case’ for Paris Is Bunk

The climate accord is a boon—yet pulling out would be unfair?

By Cliff Forrest

May 29, 2017 6:12 p.m. ET

245 COMMENTS

As President Trump weighs whether to withdraw from the Paris Agreement on climate change, some have tried to present a “business case” for why the U.S. should stay in. An economic windfall would come with the early and aggressive investment in alternative energy that the accord mandates, or so the argument goes. The Paris Agreement’s backers have told a very incomplete story and reached the wrong conclusion.

The economic merits of the Paris Agreement take on a different air when more fully considered. Climate-change advocates’ bizarre premise is that economic gains will come from restricting access to the most abundant, reliable and affordable fuel sources. Never mind that this defies the experience of many European nations that have invested heavily in renewable energy. After “Germany’s aggressive and reckless expansion of wind and solar,” for example, the magazine Der Spiegel declared in 2013 that electricity had become “a luxury good.” Apparently this time will be different.

There are a few interesting hypocrisies to consider as well. The commercial interests that strongly support the Paris Agreement typically have created programs to exploit, game or merely pass through the costs of the climate-change agenda. Many also maintain a green pose for marketing purposes. The classic example of this rent-seeking behavior was Enron, which in 1996 purchased Zond Energy Systems (now GE Wind) to complement its gas pipeline. Enron then set about lobbying its way to green-energy riches. It seems that Paris backers hope for a sudden public amnesia about the many businesses that use government to push out smaller competitors.

Green companies also argue that, beyond economic benefits, their ability to slow climate change helps contribute to the public good. To my knowledge, none declare a measurable impact on climate from their businesses or their desired policies.

Mr. Trump should keep in mind that the people calling for him to stick with the Paris Agreement largely did not support him during the campaign. Few would like to see him succeed now. As for his strongest supporters, they’re the ones who will take the hit if he breaks his promise to withdraw.

Some countries have threatened to punish the U.S. if it pulls out of the accord. Rodolfo Lacy Tamayo, Mexico’s undersecretary for environmental policy and planning, said in an interview with the New York Times: “A carbon tariff against the United States is an option for us.” Countries imposing costs on their own industries through the Paris Agreement complain that they are at a disadvantage if the U.S. doesn’t do the same. Apparently they didn’t receive the talking points describing green energy as an economic boon for everyone involved.

So which is it? Does the Paris Agreement spur a U.S. economy otherwise unprepared to succeed in the 21st century? Or is the U.S. maintaining economic advantage by not subjecting itself to the accord’s arduous requirements?

Mr. Trump's obligation is to do what is in America's best interest. Rejecting a confused and costly international agreement, with questionable benefits to climate, should be a slam dunk. Don't take my word for it: Just study the other side's arguments.

Mr. Forrest is CEO of Rosebud Mining.

From: Joseph Bast [JBast@heartland.org]
Sent: 5/31/2017 1:35:39 PM
Subject: Fingers crossed re announcement on Paris today... and good piece by Jon Utley at American Conservative

<http://www.theamericanconservative.com/articles/submit-the-paris-treaty-to-the-senate/>

Submit the Paris Treaty to the Senate

It's the best way out of the climate morass.

By [Jon Basil Utley](#) • May 30, 2017

The so-called Paris “Treaty” has all sorts of grounds for complicated lawsuits to restrict America’s new found energy independence and growing massive natural-gas production. We need to get out from under it. Yet a weakened President Trump is hesitating while the global-warming lobby tries desperately to confound the issues.

There have recently been stories raising concerns about [how South Pole ice might one day melt](#) and raise sea levels. But this because ice has been increasing at the South Pole. (See my earlier [article for details on South Pole ice and new cold weather records in Asia.](#))

It is seldom mentioned that the “Treaty” received nearly unanimous support among developing nations because they were promised billions per year to pay for cutbacks on their energy production. As [Bloomberg verified](#), “many poor nations signed up to the treaty largely because of a promise of \$100 billion a year of ‘[climate aid](#)’ from rich nations, starting from 2020.” Of course, most of this money is supposed to come from Washington and [Obama committed a billion for it](#) before leaving office.

Similarly, European support can be understood in terms of the feared political backlash from voters (Germans are paying over 30 euro-cents per kilowatt hour for electricity, nearly three times what Americans pay) if questions are raised about the [hundreds of billions](#) their governments have spent subsidizing solar and wind power.

There is also a vital constitutional issue of senatorial “advice and consent.” There is no question that the Paris Agreement was a treaty. Obama knew he would not get the votes in the Senate to pass it. The precedent of so committing America to such an agreement without a Senate vote should not be allowed to stand. A report by the [Competitive Enterprise Institute](#) lays out the reasons:

The Paris Climate Agreement is a treaty by virtue of its costs and risks, ambition compared to predecessor climate treaties, dependence on subsequent legislation by Congress, intent to affect state laws, U.S. historic practice with regard to multilateral environmental agreements, and other common-sense criteria.

CEI’s analysis further explains:

A majority of states have sued to overturn the Obama Environmental Protection Agency’s end-run around Congress, the Clean Power Plan, which is also the centerpiece of the U.S. NDC (nationally determined contributions) under the Paris Agreement. Yet, the CPP is only a start. All of Obama’s

adopted and proposed climate policies would only achieve about 51 percent of just the first NDC, and the Paris Agreement requires parties to promise more “ambitious” NDCs every five years.

The Republican Senate will not vote to approve the treaty. That would end any case for its legal validity. Fear that a vote might be filibustered so that some future leftist administration could eventually resubmit it for ratification is bogus. In fact, it would be a constant thorn in the side of the Left for future elections. Remember another real motive for them is for Washington to have growing bureaucratic control over the states and citizenry. All sorts of new government powers could be claimed as a way of controlling climate change. Fears of this would give conservatives a constant election issue by keeping the issue alive.

The current risks of doing nothing are explained in another article:

Environmental pressure groups and several state attorneys general have begun to prepare lawsuits in federal court to block withdrawal of the “Clean Power” Plan and other greenhouse gas rules. One argument that they have already put forward is that these rules cannot be withdrawn because they are part of our international commitment under the Paris Climate Treaty. Failing to withdraw from Paris thus exposes key parts of your deregulatory energy agenda to unnecessary legal risk. The AGs revealed in a recruiting letter that they also plan other lawsuits “ensuring that the promises made in Paris become reality.

Bjorn Lomborg explains the flaws of the treaty in USA Today:

In truth, Trump’s action just exposes what we have known for a while: The Paris Agreement is not the way to solve global warming. Even if every nation fulfilled everything promised — including Obama’s undertakings — it would get us nowhere near achieving the treaty’s much-hyped, unrealistic promise to keep temperature rises under 1.5 degrees Celsius.

Further obfuscating the issues is the constant barrage about the ease of moving to so called “clean energy.” Actually “wind and solar are supplying less than 1% of global energy demand....wind provided 0.46% of global energy consumption in 2014, and solar and tide combined provided 0.35%.” Higher reported numbers for renewables include wood burning, dung and such.

With all the complications, the best way to ice the treaty is to put it before the Senate for ratification. Failure there will once and for all end any legal grounds for implementing it.

Jon Basil Utley is publisher of The American Conservative.

From: Dewey, Amy [Dewey.Amy@epa.gov]
Sent: 6/1/2017 8:41:08 PM
To: Konkus, John [konkus.john@epa.gov]
CC: Milbourn, Cathy [Milbourn.Cathy@epa.gov]
Subject: FW: CRAMER: Statement on President Trump Withdrawing from the Paris Climate Agreement

Let's ask Congressional to collect all of the positive statements from the Hill! Amy

From: Jorde, Adam [mailto:Adam.Jorde@mail.house.gov]
Sent: Thursday, June 01, 2017 4:34 PM
Subject: CRAMER: Statement on President Trump Withdrawing from the Paris Climate Agreement



FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE | JUNE 1, 2017

CRAMER: Statement on President Trump Withdrawing from the Paris Climate Agreement

WASHINGTON D.C. – Congressman Kevin Cramer issued the following statement after President Donald J. Trump announced the United States will begin the process of exiting the Paris Climate Agreement:

“From the beginning, President Trump was looking for a deal that would benefit our nation, and it’s clear he thoughtfully weighed all his options over the past several weeks. The Paris Climate Agreement, in current form, would be terrible for America, and I’m glad we have a President who values Americans more than the interests of the rest of the world.”

Congressman Cramer (R-N.D.) serves on the House Energy and Commerce Committee and was an early-endorser and informal energy advisor to President Trump during his campaign. In April, he sent a [letter](#) with several House Republicans from energy-rich states requesting the President stay in the agreement for the benefit of American interests. Cramer also published an opinion editorial in the [Wall Street Journal](#) last month detailing why he changed his mind on withdrawing from the agreement.

###

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[Email](#) [Website](#) [vCard](#)

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From: Joseph Bast [JBast@heartland.org]
Sent: 6/2/2017 9:28:07 PM
Subject: H. Sterling Burnett and Justin Haskins on the front page of Fox News

<http://www.foxnews.com/opinion/2017/06/01/trumps-paris-climate-decision-should-be-celebrated-by-democrats-republicans-and-independents.html>

Fox News
6/2/17

Trump's Paris Climate Decision Should be Celebrated by Democrats, Republicans and Independents

By: H. Sterling Burnett and Justin Haskins, the Heartland Institute

When the Paris climate agreement was signed in April 2016, it was touted by the Obama administration and a vast array of its climate-alarmist proponents as a supreme victory for the global environmental movement. Now, a little more than a year later, the agreement that had effectively been in the works for nearly a decade in one form or another is dead, and with it, much of President Barack Obama's climate-change legacy.

Americans of every stripe should celebrate the Paris agreement's demise, for it represents a stunning victory for taxpayers and middle- and lower-income families and the elevation of science over irrational fears about the future of Earth's climate.

The Paris climate agreement required the United States to cut its carbon dioxide emissions by 28 percent below 2005 levels by 2025. To meet this target, the United States would have had to reduce its emissions by such a radical extent that virtually every aspect of American life would have been negatively impacted.

Mandates would have forced the closure of many of the least-expensive power plants nationwide, raising energy prices at a time of tepid economic growth and sky-high deficits. Manufacturers, domestic energy producers, and countless related industries would have been driven out of business or forced to significantly scale back their operations while taxpayer-subsidized, inefficient, high-cost renewable-energy industries thrived—all at the expense of everyday Americans.

Under the Paris agreement, major economic and geopolitical competitors—including China, India, and Russia—would have been allowed to grow their low-cost carbon dioxide emissions while the United States would have been forced to implement draconian cuts, making their economies comparatively more attractive to corporations looking to slash costs and significantly reducing Americans' ability to compete in an increasingly global marketplace.

Despite the Paris agreement's immense costs, the treaty's proponents insist it is a necessary step forward in the alleged battle against human-caused climate change. But even the U.N. Environment Programme, a noted climate alarmist agency, admitted on its own website the treaty would deliver no meaningful environmental improvements.

According to the United Nations' post-Paris analysis, if all the parties to the agreement were to meet their promised emissions goals, the Paris treaty would result in less than half the greenhouse gas cuts required to

halt temperatures at an upper limit of 2 degrees Celsius. Even if one believes human greenhouse gas emissions are driving dangerous climate change—and we think the best science shows they aren't—the Paris agreement would not have prevented one iota of rising temperatures, sea levels, or instances of extreme weather.

Climate alarmists, including some within the White House, have told the president any rollback of the Paris agreement would have detrimental political consequences for the president. Thankfully, Trump was not swayed by these empty threats. There was absolutely no political upside for Trump to reverse course on his campaign promise to exit the Paris agreement. Had he done so, left-wing environmentalists would not have suddenly fallen in love with Trump, and the “swamp” Republican establishment wouldn't have warmly embraced him either.

However, what would have unquestionably occurred had Trump kept the Paris treaty alive is there would have been a tidal wave of criticism from climate skeptics and working class Americans, turning some of the president's closest allies into his fieriest critics.

By rejecting climate alarmists' sky-is-falling political fear mongering, Trump adamantly declared he isn't interested in being bullied by the anti-science, redistributionist zealots on the left. Instead, Trump is standing alongside entrepreneurs, business owners, and working American families, many of whom voted for Trump in November, in declaring with one voice that U.S. climate and energy policies ought to put America first.

Message

From: Wilcox, Jahan [/O=EXCHANGELABS/OU=EXCHANGE ADMINISTRATIVE GROUP (FYDIBOHF23SPDLT)/CN=RECIPIENTS/CN=88FD588E97D3405D869BCAE98D391984-WILCOX, JAH]
Sent: 4/19/2017 3:26:15 PM
To: Alex Guillen [aguillen@politico.com]
Subject: Hey Alex -

OTR – We wanted to flag this editorial from the WSJ for you.

Highway From the Endangerment Zone

The Wall Street Journal

April 19, 2017

<https://www.wsj.com/articles/highway-from-the-endangerment-zone-1492555808>

Scott Pruitt has emerged as a leading voice in the Trump Administration for U.S. withdrawal from the Paris global climate deal, so it's ironic that the Environmental Protection Agency chief is being assailed from the right for being soft on carbon. Too many conservatives these days are searching for betrayals where none exist.

As Attorney General of Oklahoma, Mr. Pruitt successfully sued to stop the enforcement of President Obama's regulations known as the Clean Power Plan, or CPP, and he's preparing to dismantle them for good as EPA administrator. The rap from the right is that he won't challenge the underlying determination for regulating CO 2 emissions known as an endangerment finding. In 2009 the EPA concluded in this finding that carbon dioxide and other greenhouse gases pose a threat to public health and the environment, and this document serves as the nominal legal basis for the CPP and other anticarbon rules.

Mr. Pruitt's critics claim that withdrawing from the CPP without reversing endangerment will strengthen his opponents in the inevitable green lawsuits that are coming. Endangerment findings create a legal obligation for the EPA to regulate the relevant pollutants, even if carbon is far different from traditional hazards like SO X and NO X .

The endangerment finding was deeply misguided and flawed in its execution, and nobody fought it more than we did. But there's a practical reason that Mr. Pruitt is right about the risks of trying to revoke it now. The finding has been upheld by the courts, and creating a legally bulletproof non-endangerment rule would consume a tremendous amount of EPA resources, especially at an agency with few political appointees and a career staff hostile to reform.

Technical determinations about the state of the science are supposed to be entitled to judicial deference, but the reality is that the D.C. Circuit Court of Appeals that would hear the case is packed with progressive judges. Climate change has become a theological conviction on the left, so Mr. Pruitt would almost certainly lose either with a three-judge panel or en banc.

The Supreme Court's appetite for such a case is also minimal, since it would run directly at the 2007 ruling in Massachusetts v. EPA that prepared the way for the endangerment finding. Justice Anthony Kennedy was in that 5-4 majority.

Mr. Pruitt is already taking on difficult and controversial challenges, so better for the Administration to use scarce political capital where it will make a difference instead of burning it on a doomed mission. The endangerment finding doesn't dictate any specific regulation, and Mr. Pruitt has the discretion to interpret the Clean Air Act to achieve his favored policy outcomes, including to repeal legally tenuous central planning like CPP.

A future Democratic President could use the endangerment finding to revive something like CPP, but then that same Administration could restore endangerment too. Mr. Pruitt is a natural target for the left, but when conservatives are impugning one of the leaders of President Trump's economic deregulation project as a sellout, maybe the problem is the critics, not Mr. Pruitt.

Jahan Wilcox
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Strategic Communications Advisor
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Work Email: wilcox.jahan@epa.gov

Message

From: Wilcox, Jahan [/O=EXCHANGELABS/OU=EXCHANGE ADMINISTRATIVE GROUP (FYDIBOHF23SPDLT)/CN=RECIPIENTS/CN=88FD588E97D3405D869BCAE98D391984-WILCOX, JAH]
Sent: 4/19/2017 3:24:00 PM
To: bwolfgang@washingtontimes.com
Subject: Hey Ben

Hope you are doing well. We worked together a little bit in 2013 and probably other times too. Off-the-record, wanted to flag this editorial from the WSJ for you.

Jahan

Highway From the Endangerment Zone

The Wall Street Journal

Editorial

April 19, 2017

<https://www.wsj.com/articles/highway-from-the-endangerment-zone-1492555808>

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Work Email: wilcox.jahan@epa.gov

Message

From: Wilcox, Jahan [/O=EXCHANGELABS/OU=EXCHANGE ADMINISTRATIVE GROUP (FYDIBOHF23SPDLT)/CN=RECIPIENTS/CN=88FD588E97D3405D869BCAE98D391984-WILCOX, JAH]
Sent: 4/19/2017 3:20:27 PM
To: Jim Geraghty [jiminturkey@gmail.com]
Subject: Hey Jim

OTR – Wanted to flag this editorial for you from the WSJ.

Highway From the Endangerment Zone

The Wall Street Journal

Editorial

April 19, 2017

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Sent: 4/19/2017 3:01:22 PM
To: betsy.woodruff@thedailybeast.com
Subject: Hey Betsy

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Sent: 4/19/2017 3:01:10 PM
To: lachlan.markay@thedailybeast.com
Subject: Hey Lachlan

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Sent: 4/19/2017 2:45:36 PM
To: John Siciliano [jsiciliano@washingtonexaminer.com]
Subject: Hey John -

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Sent: 4/19/2017 2:44:50 PM
To: allahpundit@gmail.com
Subject: Allahpundit ...

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Sent: 4/19/2017 2:43:23 PM
To: smoran@breitbart.com
Subject: Hey Sean

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Sent: 4/19/2017 2:42:22 PM
To: ewerickson@me.com
Subject: Hey Erik -

OTR – We wanted to flag this editorial from the WSJ for you.

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Sent: 4/19/2017 2:43:41 PM
To: tips@hotair.com
Subject: Ed and Jazz -

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